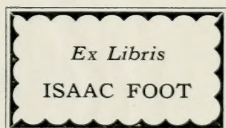


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A HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE

BY EDWIN CLAYTON ARNOLD

IN SIX VOLUMES. VOL. III

A HISTORY OF
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FROM THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE

BY
THOMAS HENRY DYER, LL.D.

THIRD EDITION, REVISED AND CONTINUED TO THE
END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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A.D. 1453-1900

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LONDON
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LONDON: GEORGE BELL AND SONS
PORTUGAL ST. LINCOLN'S INN, W.C.
CAMBRIDGE: DEIGHTON, BELL & CO.
NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN CO.
BOMBAY: A. H. WHEELER & CO.

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CHISWICK PRESS: CHARLES WHITTINGHAM AND CO.
TOOKS COURT, CHANCERY LANE, LONDON.

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A

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF CONTENTS

OF

THE THIRD VOLUME

CHAPTER XXV

The Rise of the Dutch Republic

A.D.	PAGE	A.D.	PAGE
1576. Don John of Austria Governor of the Netherlands	3	1581. Doctrine of the Sovereignty of the People	16
1577. <i>The Union of Brussels</i>	—	1582. Elizabeth refuses the Sovereignty of Holland and Zealand	—
<i>The Perpetual Edict</i>	4	Dismisses her suitor Anjou	18
Don John seizes Namur	5	William wounded by an assassin	19
William elected <i>Ruward</i>	6	1583. <i>French Fury</i> at Antwerp	20
Don John deposed. Matthias Governor	—	Anjou quits the Netherlands	21
1578. Elizabeth assists the States	7	Successes of Farnese	—
Battles of Gemblours and Ry-menants	—	1584. Death of Anjou	22
Death of Don John	8	William accepts the Sovereignty of Holland and Zealand	—
He is succeeded by Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma	9	His assassination and character	23
The Netherlands call in the Duke of Anjou	—	His son Maurice elected Stadholder	24
Popular Insurrection at Ghent and other places	10	Siege of Antwerp	—
1579. Dissolution of the Brussels Union, and formation of the <i>Union of Utrecht</i>	11	Its capture	25
The Walloons join Farnese	12	Elizabeth helps the Hollanders	26
Three parties in the Netherlands	—	1586. The States choose Leicester Governor	27
Maestricht captured by the Spaniards	—	Anger of Elizabeth	—
William restores order in Ghent	13	Campaign of 1586. Battle of Zutphen	—
Cardinal Granvelle resumes office	—	Leicester returns to England	28
William proscribed	—	The States complain of him	29
His <i>Apology</i>	14	1587. Siege of Sluys	—
1580. The Duke of Anjou Stadholder	15	Final retirement of Leicester	—
1581. <i>Act of Abjuration</i> , whereby the Dutch renounce allegiance to Philip	—	Death of Pope Gregory XIII. (1585)	30
		Election of Sixtus V. . . .	31
		His character	—

vi CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF CONTENTS

A.D.	PAGE	A.D.	PAGE
1587.	His rage at the execution of Mary Queen of Scots . . . 32	1589.	Expedition to Portugal . . . 36
	His machinations against Elizabeth . . . —		Campaigns of Parma . . . 37
	Philip II.'s schemes against England . . . 33	1590.	Philip diverts his forces to France . . . —
	Expeditions of Drake, Raleigh, etc. . . . 34	1591.	Successes of Maurice . . . —
	Philip's pretended negotiations for peace . . . —	1592.	Death of Parma . . . 38
	Drake's attack on Cadiz . . . 35		The Archduke Ernest Governor of the Netherlands . . 39
1588.	The Invincible Armada . . . —		Story of Antonio Perez . . . —
			Suppression of the liberties of Aragon 40

CHAPTER XXVI

Civil Wars in France

1585.	French History resumed . . 41	1590.	Henry IV. invests Paris . . 58
	Montmorenci rejoins the Huguenots . . . —		Which is relieved by the Duke of Parma 59
	War of the Three Henries . . 42		Death of Pope Sixtus V. . . 60
	Henry of Navarre and Condé excommunicated . . . —		Election of Urban VII. and Gregory XIV. —
1586.	Interview between Henry and Catharine de' Medici . . . 43		Gregory supports the League . . —
1587.	The Germans invade France . . —	1591.	Paris garrisoned by the Spaniards 61
	Battle of Coutras . . . —		Henry besieges Rouen . . . 63
1588.	Violent counsels of the League Guise enters Paris . . . 44		Which is relieved by the Duke of Parma —
	Day of the Barricades . . . —	1592.	Election of Pope Clement VIII. Pretenders to the Crown of France 64
	Henry III. flies from Paris . . —		Conference at Suresne . . . 66
	Edict of Union 46		Negotiations between Philip II. and the League . . . —
	The States-General at Blois . 47		Henry IV. besieges Dreux . . 67
	Assassination of Guise . . . 48	1593.	He abjures Protestantism . . 68
1589.	Death of Catharine de' Medici . —	1594.	He is crowned at Chartres . . 69
	Rage of the Parisians . . . 49		He buys the Commandant of Paris —
	Mayenne heads the League . . 50		And enters that Capital . . 70
	Progress of Henry of Navarre . —		Submission of the Duke of Guise 71
	Henry III. cited to appear at Rome 51		The <i>Satyre Ménippée</i> . . . —
	He joins Henry of Navarre . . —		Attempt on the King's life . . —
	Excommunicated by Sixtus V. 52		The Jesuits expelled from Paris 72
	Assassinated by Jacques Clement —	1595.	Henry IV. declares war against Spain —
	The King of Navarre assumes the title of Henry IV. . . . 53		Action at Fontaine-Française . —
	He consents to be <i>instructed</i> . —		Henry absolved by the Pope . 73
	The League proclaims Charles X. 54	1596.	Treaty of Folembrai. <i>End of the League</i> —
	The Pope sanctions Henry III.'s murder —	1597.	War in Brittany and Savoy . 74
	War in Normandy 55	1598.	Treaty of Angers —
	Henry IV. succoured by Queen Elizabeth —		<i>Edict of Nantes</i> 75
	Philip II.'s designs on France 56		Establishment of Toleration . . —
1590.	Battle of Ivry 57		
	Death of Cardinal Bourbon . . 58		

CHAPTER XXVII

Establishment of Peace in the East and West

A.D.	PAGE
1593. Affairs of the Netherlands . . .	77
1594. Prince Maurice reduces Groningen	—
1595. Philip II. appoints Archduke Albert Governor	78
The Spaniards take Cambrai	—
1596. And Calais	79
Alliance between Henry IV. and Elizabeth	—
Cadiz taken by the English	80
1597. Who undertake a bootless expedition against Spain	81
Amiens taken by Albert	82
Retaken by Henry IV.	—
1598. <i>Peace of Vervins</i>	—
Philip II. resigns the Netherlands to his daughter and the Archduke Albert	83
Death of Philip	84
Character	—
Retrospect of German affairs	85
Education and character of Rodolph II.	—
Protestantism proscribed in Austria (1579)	86
Catholic reaction in Bavaria	—
Ecclesiastical mummeries	—
The Elector of Cologne deposed	87
Sigismund III. elected in Poland (1587)	88

A.D.	PAGE
1598. Affairs of Hungary and Transylvania	89
Retrospect of Turkish History	—
Accession of Amurath III. (1574)	—
English relations with the Porte	90
Negotiations with Edward Burton	92
Henry IV. claims the protectorate of Eastern Christians	—
1593. War between the Emperor and Turks	—
1595. Death of Amurath III. and accession of Mahomet III.	94
1596. Mahomet's Expedition to Erlau	—
The Archduke Maximilian defeated at Keresztes	95
Campaigns of 1597-99	—
1603. Death of Mahomet III.	—
Accession of Achmet I.	—
Revolution in Transylvania	96
Overthrow of the Bathorys	—
1605. Stephen Bocskai seizes Transylvania	—
1607. <i>Peace of Sitvatorok</i>	97
Abatement of Turkish haughtiness	—
Extent of the Osmanli Empire	—

CHAPTER XXVIII

Religion and Commerce

Comparative progress of France and Spain	99
View of the progress of Protestantism	—
Roman Catholic reaction	100
Reform of the Popish Hierarchy and Priesthood	101
Progress of the Jesuits	102
Their Establishment in Germany and Poland	103
In France	104
Gallican Church Statistics	105
Jesuits in England	106
In the Spanish Peninsula	—
The Reformation in Spain	107
Provinces of the Jesuits	109
They establish themselves at Constantinople	—
Their missionary Labours	—

Their Mission of Paraguay	110
View of European Commerce	—
Commercial jealousy of the Venetians	111
Wretched fiscal system of Spain	—
Hidalgos and Pecheros	112
Monopolies of foreigners	114
Exorbitant taxation	—
Bad financial system	—
Decline of Spain	115
Predictions of Campanella	—
Proposal of a new patron Saint	117
Ruin of the Catalan marine	—
Commercial system of France	—
Administration of Sully	120
He fosters Agriculture	—
Effects of the Civil Wars	—
Power of the Nobles	121
Their manners	—

viii CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
Fury of duelling	122
Influence and example of Henry IV.	—
Sully as a financier	123
Comparison of European capitals	124
Condition of England	125
Origin of the Science of Political Economy	—
Thomas Munn	—
English Voyages and Piracies	126
Opening of the Russian Trade	127
Rise of the Dutch Marine	128

	PAGE
Ruin of the Spanish Netherlands	128
Decline of the Hanse Towns	—
Prosperity of Holland	—
The Dutch East India Company	129
Progress of Dutch Commerce	—
French Colonization	130
Decline of the Ottoman Power	131
The Seven Towers	—
Avarice of Amurath III.	—
State of the Christians in Turkey	—

CHAPTER XXIX

The Beginning of the Seventeenth Century

A.D.		
1599.	Foreign Policy of Henry IV.	133
	He procures a Divorce	134
	Sully and Gabrielle	—
	Question respecting Saluzzo	—
1600.	Conspiracy against Henry IV.	135
	War with Savoy	136
	Henry marries Mary de' Medici	137
1601.	Bresse, etc., ceded to France	—
	Execution of Marshal Biron	—
	Plans against the House of Austria, under the scheme of a <i>Christian Republic</i>	—
	Philip III. and the Duke of Lerma	139
1599.	Marriage of the Infanta Isabella and the Archduke Albert	—
	They proceed into the Netherlands	—
1600.	The Spaniards defeated by Prince Maurice at Nieuport	140
1601.	The siege of Ostend commenced	141
	Interview between Queen Elizabeth and Sully	142
1602.	Spinola arrives in the Netherlands	—
1603.	Death of Queen Elizabeth	—
	Foreign policy of James I.	—
1604.	He concludes a peace with Spain	143
	Prince Maurice captures Sluys	—
	Ostend surrenders to Spinola	—
1605.	Campaign in the Netherlands	144
1606.	Negotiations for peace	—
1607.	The Dutch destroy the Spanish fleet at Gibraltar	—
1608.	Negotiations at the Hague	145
1609.	Truce of twelve years between Spain and the Dutch States	146
	Summary of Dutch successes	147
	Henry IV. recalls the Jesuits	148

A.D.		
1605.	Death of Pope Clement VIII.	148
	Election and character of Paul V.	—
	Fra Paolo Sarpi	149
1606.	Venice put under an Interdict	—
	Henry IV.'s schemes against the House of Austria in Italy and Spain	—
1610.	The Moriscoes expelled from Spain	150
	Retrospect of German affairs	152
	Rodolph II. and his brother Matthias	—
1606.	Family compact against Rodolph	153
1608.	Hungary ceded to Matthias	154
	Who also becomes King Elect of Bohemia	—
1609.	Matthias concedes religious toleration	—
	Provisional Government in Bohemia	—
	Rodolph's Letters Patent	155
	Ferdinand of Styria and Maximilian of Bavaria	—
	Troubles of Donauwörth	156
	<i>Protestant Union</i> (1608)	157
	Aulic Council	—
	The <i>Holy League</i>	158
	Succession of Cleves, Julich, etc.	—
	Lutheranism in Saxony	159
	Julich and its dependencies occupied by the "Princes in Possession"	160
	Interference of Henry IV.	—
1610.	Henry IV.'s treaty with the Protestant Union	161
	Scheme to wrest the Empire from the House of Habsburg	162
	Opposition to Henry's plans	163
	Coronation of Mary de' Medici	—
	Henry IV. assassinated	164
	His character	—

CHAPTER XXX

The Coming Struggle

A.D.	PAGE
1610. Mary de' Medici seizes the Regency	165
Execution of Ravaillac	166
The Queen buys the Princes of the Blood	—
Retirement of the Duke of Sully	167
The Archduke Leopold driven from Jülich	168
1611. Insubordination of the Huguenots	169
1612. Matrimonial contracts between France and Spain	—
1614. Revolt of Condé, and Peace of St. Meneshould	170
Last Etats-Généraux of the Monarchy	—
First public appearance of Richelieu	—
His early Life	—
Louis XIII. declared of age	172
Elevation of Marshal D'Ancre	—
1615. Marriages of Louis XIII. and Anne of Austria, and of the Infant Philip and Elizabeth of France	173
1616. Treaty of Loudun	—
Richelieu enters the Ministry	—
His patron Marshal D'Ancre	—
Insolence of Condé	174
He is arrested	175
Plots against Marshal D'Ancre	—
Louis XIII. and his favourite Quarrel of Marshal D'Ancre and Richelieu	176
Artifices of Luynes	177
1617. He plots the destruction of Marshal D'Ancre	—
Who is murdered	178

A.D.	PAGE
1617. Banishment of the Queen-Mother	178
Execution of La Galigai	—
1618. Banishment of Richelieu	179
1619. The Queen-Mother escapes from Blois	—
Richelieu effects a reconciliation	180
Fall of the Duke of Lerma, and rise of his son Uzeda (1618)	—
Plot of the Duke of Osuna	—
Venice preserved	—
The Armenians and Gomarists in Holland	181
Synod of Dort	183
Execution of the Pensionary Barneveldt	184
Flight of Hugo Grotius	—
1610. Retrospect of German History	—
Wretched administration of Rodolph II.	185
1611. Matthias obtains the Crown of Bohemia	186
1612. Is elected Emperor on the death of Rodolph	—
Frederick V., Elector Palatine, marries Princess Elizabeth	187
Parties in Germany	—
Introduction of the Spaniards	188
1618. Ferdinand of Styria called to the Austrian succession	189
The Bohemian defenestration	—
1619. Death of the Emperor Matthias	190
Birth and Education of Wallenstein	192
Vienna threatened by the Bohemians	193
Ferdinand II. elected Emperor	—

CHAPTER XXXI

Beginning of the Thirty Years' War—Scandinavian History

1619. The Bohemian Crown offered to the Elector Palatine	195
He is crowned at Prague	196
Account of Bethlem Gabor, Prince of Transylvania	—
Treaty between Ferdinand II. and Maximilian of Bavaria	197
Count Thurn and Bethlem Gabor before Vienna	—
The "Winter King"	198

1620. France favours the Emperor	199
Béarn, etc., annexed to the French Crown	—
Unpopularity of the Bohemian King	—
Treaty of Ulm	200
Breaking out of the <i>Thirty Years' War</i>	201
Count Tilly	—
Spinola wastes the Lower Palatinate	202

X CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF CONTENTS

A.D.		PAGE			PAGE
1620.	Battle of Prague, and flight of the Palatine Frederick	202		He carries off Gustavus Ericson (or Vasa)	215
	Protestantism uprooted in Bohemia	204		He obtains possession of Stockholm (1520)	216
	The Palatine assisted by James I.	205		His cruelties	—
1621.	Dissolution of the Protestant Union	—		Gustavus Vasa in Dalecarlia	—
1622.	War in the Palatinate, and Battle of Wimpfen	206		He is elected Regent (1521)	217
	James I. persuades his son-in-law to yield	207		Christian II. expelled from Denmark	218
	Capture of Heidelberg	208		Succeeded by Frederick I. in Denmark	—
	Conduct of Bethlem Gabor	—		The Reformation in that country and in Sweden	219
	Retrospect of Turkish History	209		Christian II.'s attempt to regain his Crown (1531)	220
	Mustapha I. and Osman II.	—		He is imprisoned for life	—
	Battle of Jassy (1620)	—		Death of Frederick I. of Denmark, and election of Christian III.	221
	Osman's enterprise against Poland	210		War of Gustavus Vasa with the Hanse Towns	—
	He meditates annihilating the Janissaries	—		His death and character (1560)	222
	He is deposed and put to death	211		Frederick II. in Denmark	—
1623.	Accession of Amurath IV.	—		Eric IV. of Sweden	223
	Retrospect of Scandinavian History	212		Deposed by his brother John (1569)	224
	Queen Margaret and the Union of Calmar (1397)	—		Reign of Frederick II. in Denmark	—
	Sovereigns down to King John (1513)	213		Charles IX. of Sweden	225
	Education of his son Christian II.	214		Christian IV. of Denmark	226
	Christian marries Isabella, sister of Charles V.	—		War between Denmark and Sweden	227
	He attempts the Conquest of Sweden (1517-18)	—		Accession of Gustavus Adolphus in Sweden (1611)	—
				His Russian and Polish wars	228
				House of Romanoff	—
				Truce of Altmark (1629)	229

CHAPTER XXXII

Affairs of Spain, Italy, and France—Progress of the War

A.D.		PAGE			PAGE
1620.	The Spaniards occupy the Valtellina	230	1625.	Huguenot Insurrection	238
1621.	Death of Philip III. and accession of Philip IV.	231		Death of James I.	—
	Accession of Pope Gregory XV.	—		Marriage of Charles I. and Henriette	—
	Death of Luynes	232		Richelieu borrows English vessels	239
1622.	Peace of Montpellier	—		Henriette's Reception in England	—
	Richelieu receives a Cardinal's hat	—		Ill-feeling between France and England	240
1624.	He becomes Minister	—		Expedition to Cadiz under Wimbledon	242
	La Vieuville arrested	233	1626.	Treaty of Monçon between France and Spain	—
	Richelieu's Policy	—		Dexterity of Richelieu	244
	Treaty with Holland	234		Conspiracy against him frustrated	—
	Negotiations for English Marriage	—		He is appointed Admiral	246
	Richelieu's deceitful policy with regard to Count Mansfeld	235	1627.	Rupture between France and England	—
	The Valtellina sequestered into the Pope's hands	236		Buckingham's Expedition to the Isle of Ré	247
	Accession of Urban VIII. (1623)	—		Richelieu's Answer to the English Manifesto	248
	The French seize the Valtellina	237			

A.D.	PAGE
1627. Buckingham is defeated and re-embarks	249
1628. Siege of La Rochelle	250
Assassination of Buckingham	251
Surrender of that town	—
Affairs of the Netherlands	252
Surrender of Breda (1625)	—
Affairs of Germany	253
1621. Alliance between England, Denmark, and Holland	—
Christian IV.'s interest in the State of Germany	—
He is elected head of Lower Saxony, and prepares to attack the Emperor	254
His Accident at Hameln	255

A.D.	PAGE
1621. Character of Wallenstein	256
He raises an Army	—
1626. Campaign in Germany	257
Christian IV. defeated at Lutter	258
1627. Wallenstein enters Mecklenburg	259
Christian retires into the Danish Islands	—
1628. Wallenstein appointed General of the Baltic	260
Successful Policy of Ferdinand II.	—
Wallenstein besieges Stralsund	261
1629. Peace of Lübeck	262

CHAPTER XXXIII

The Swedes in Germany

1629. The Edict of Restitution	264
Want of Patriotism of the German Princes	265
Views of Gustavus Adolphus	—
1630. He allies himself with France	266
1631. He lands in Germany	—
Violent proceedings of Wallenstein	267
Diet of Ratisbon (1630)	—
Wallenstein dismissed	268
Affair of the Mantuan Succession	269
Peace between France and England (1629)	270
Richelieu in Italy as Generalissimo	—
Treaty of Cherasco	271
Progress of Gustavus Adolphus	273
<i>Conventus</i> of Leipsic	—
Sack of Magdeburg	274
Battle of Leipsic	275
Gustavus marches to the Rhine	—
1632. He is joined by the Elector Palatine	277
Lorraine subjected to France	278
The Elector of Trèves joins the French	—
Passage of the Lech and death of Tilly	279
Wallenstein recalled	—
Gustavus enters Munich	280
Meeting of Maximilian and Wallenstein	281
Gustavus at Nuremberg	—
Wallenstein's Camp	—
Gustavus proceeds into Saxony	282
Battle of Lützen	283
Death of Gustavus	284
His character	285

1632. Exultation at Vienna and Madrid	286
Wallenstein retreats into Bohemia	286
Oxenstiern directs the affairs of Sweden	—
1633. Union of Heilbronn	287
Campaign of Duke Bernhard	—
Secret negotiations of Wallenstein with the Swedes and French	—
1634. His officers oppose his resignation	288
His destruction resolved on	—
Dissimulation of the Emperor	290
Wallenstein deposed from the command	—
Conspiracy against him	291
His adherents murdered	292
He is assassinated	293
Wallenstein's murderers rewarded	294
Reflections on the Emperor's conduct	295
Campaign of 1634	—
Battle of Nördlingen	296
Commencement of French ascendancy	297
They enter Alsace	—
Parliament of Austrasia	—
Affairs of the Netherlands	298
Operations of Prince Frederick Henry (1629-32)	—
Death of the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia (1633)	299
1635. French and Dutch Alliance	—
Treaty between France and Sweden	300
War between France and Spain	301

xii CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF CONTENTS

A.D.		PAGE	A.D.		PAGE
1635.	Peace of Prague	301	1635.	The "Saxon Blood Order"	305
	Swedes refuse to accede to it.	302	1636.	Baner defeats the Saxons at Wittstock and Eilenburg	—
	French Campaigns in Belgium and Italy	303	1637.	Death of Ferdinand II. and Election of Ferdinand III.	306
	Duke Bernhard enters the service of France	304			

CHAPTER XXXIV

The Peace of Westphalia

<p>1637. Horrors of the Thirty Years' War 307</p> <p>Depopulation of Württemberg 308</p> <p>1638. Campaign of Duke Bernhard —</p> <p>Birth of Louis XIV. 309</p> <p>1639. Death of Duke Bernhard 310</p> <p>The Weimarian Generals bought by France —</p> <p>German Campaign. Victories of Baner 311</p> <p>Richelieu's Intrigues in England 312</p> <p>Exile and death of Mary de' Medici 313</p> <p>Disturbances in Spain —</p> <p>Spanish tyranny in Catalonia —</p> <p>1640. Revolt of that Province 314</p> <p>Its treaty with France 315</p> <p>Revolution in Portugal 316</p> <p>Don John IV. proclaimed (House of Bragança) 317</p> <p>He allies himself with France and Holland 318</p> <p>1641. Formal Union of Catalonia with France —</p> <p>Death of the Cardinal Infant Ferdinand 319</p> <p>Affairs of Germany. Amelia Elizabeth of Hesse Cassel 320</p> <p>Character of the Archduke and Bishop Leopold William 321</p> <p>Baner attempts to surprise Ratisbon —</p> <p>Accession of Frederick William in Brandenburg, the "Great Elector" 322</p> <p>1642. Rapid Conquests of Torstenson —</p> <p>Second Battle of Leipsic 323</p> <p>Successes of Guébriant —</p> <p>Conspiracy against Richelieu —</p> <p>Execution of Cinq Mars and others 324</p> <p>Triumph of Richelieu 325</p> <p>Successes of the French in Spain and Italy —</p> <p>Death of Richelieu 326</p> <p>His Character and Policy —</p> <p>1643. Death of Louis XIII. 327</p> <p>Anne of Austria Regent —</p> <p>She appoints Mazarin her Minister —</p>	<p>1643. Don Francisco de Mello invests Rocroi 328</p> <p>Victories of Enghien —</p> <p>Philip IV. drives the French from Aragon 329</p> <p>Campaign in Germany —</p> <p>Nature of the Swedish Government —</p> <p>Rupture between the Swedes and Danes 330</p> <p>1644. Torstenson invades Denmark 331</p> <p>Out-manceuvres Gallas —</p> <p>1645. Defeats the Imperialists at Jankowitz 332</p> <p>Accession of Christina in Sweden (December, 1644) —</p> <p>Peace of Brömsebro —</p> <p>Retrospect of Turkish History 333</p> <p>Reign and Death of Amurath IV. (1640) —</p> <p>Character of Sultan Ibrahim 334</p> <p>War between Venice and the Turks —</p> <p>The latter attack Crete —</p> <p>Accession of Mahomet IV. (1648) —</p> <p>Torstenson and Ragotsky, Voyvode of Transylvania, threaten Vienna 335</p> <p>Retirement of Torstenson —</p> <p>Negotiation for a Peace —</p> <p>Congress at Münster and Osnabrück 336</p> <p>Splendour of the Assembly 337</p> <p>Insincerity of the chief Powers —</p> <p>Ferdinand indisposed to Peace 338</p> <p>Disputes about precedence —</p> <p>Campaigns in Belgium and Germany 339</p> <p>And in Spain 340</p> <p>Death of Pope Urban VIII. and Accession of Innocent X. (1644) 341</p> <p>1646. French Expedition against Tuscany —</p> <p>Campaign in Flanders and Germany —</p> <p>1647. Treaty of Ulm with Bavaria 342</p> <p>Distressed state of Spain —</p> <p>Insurrections at Palermo and Naples 343</p> <p>Death of 'Mas Aniello —</p>
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A.D.	PAGE
1647. Don John of Austria at Naples	345
Guise attempts to seize the Crown of Naples	345
1648. Termination of the Rebellion and capture of Guise	345
Treaty of Peace between Spain and Holland	346
Campaigns of Condé and Turenne. Dispersion of the Weimarian Army	347
Condé's Victory at Lens.	349

A.D.	PAGE
1648. Charles Gustavus at Prague. End of Thirty Years' War	349
Treaties of Westphalia	—
Settlement of the Affairs of the Empire	—
Cessions to France and Sweden	350
Protest of the Nuncio Chigi	352
Innocent X. declares the Treaties null	—
Conclusion	—

CHAPTER XXXV

The Fronde and the Franco-Spanish War

1648. France and Spain continue the War.	354
Origin of the <i>Fronde</i>	—
Mazarin as a Financier	—
Opposition of the Parliament	355
The Cardinal de Retz	356
1649. Condé besieges Paris	357
Anarchy in France	358
1650. Condé arrested	359
The <i>New Fronde</i>	360
1651. Mazarin in Exile	361
Louis XIV. declared of Age	362
Condé's intrigues with Spain	363
Mazarin returns	—
1652. Condé attacks Paris, defended by Turenne	364
Mazarin again retires	365
Condé enters the service of Spain	—
1653. Mazarin returns	367
Commonwealth in England	—
Success of the Spaniards	368
1654. Condé and Turenne in the Netherlands	369
Hostility of the Dutch to the English Revolution	370
Revolution in Holland	371
1651. Navigation Act.	371

1652. Rupture between England and the Dutch	372
Cromwell's policy	373
1654. Peace with Holland	—
Cromwell's Treaties	374
He attacks Spain	—
1655. Interferes for the Vaudois.	375
1657. Concludes a treaty with France	376
1658. Siege of Dunkirk	377
Dunkirk surrendered to the English	378
Affairs of Germany	379
Catholic and Protestant Leagues	—
1657. Death of Ferdinand III.	380
Mazarin's Intrigues for the Imperial Crown	—
1658. Election of Leopold I.	382
The Rhenish League	383
Negotiations between France and Spain	384
1659. Congress at the Isle of Pheasants	385
Treaty of the Pyrenees	386
1660. Marriage of Louis XIV. and Maria Theresa	—
1661. Death of Mazarin	387

CHAPTER XXXVI

The North of Europe (1644-1661)

1644. Christina Queen of Sweden	389
1649. Names Charles Gustavus to the Succession	390
1654. Abdicates	—
Accession of Charles X.	391
John Casimir II. of Poland protests against it	393
State of Poland under that Monarch	—
The Tsar Alexis	394

1654. The Cossacks of the Ukraine	395
Alexis makes war on the Poles	396
1655. The Swedes invade Poland	398
John Casimir defeated	399
Frederick William the "Great Elector"	400
Concludes an Alliance with the Dutch	401
Charles X. reduces Prussia	402

xiv CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF CONTENTS

A.D.	PAGE	A.D.	PAGE
1656.	Confederacy of Tyrnowitz . . . 403	1657.	War between Denmark and Sweden . . . 410
	Alliance between Charles X. and Frederick William . . . —		Siege of Fredericksodde . . . 411
	They recover Warsaw . . . 404	1658.	Charles X. crosses the Belt on the Ice . . . 412
	Relations between Charles X. and the Tsar . . . 405		Peace of Roskild . . . 414
	Alexis attacks Sweden . . . —		Gigantic Plans of Charles . . . —
	Treaty of Labiau between Charles X. and Frederick William . . . 406		He renews the War with Denmark . . . 415
	Alliance between Charles and the Prince of Transylvania . . . 407		Frederick III.'s brave Defence of Copenhagen . . . 416
1657.	Frederick III. of Denmark declares War against Charles X. . . 408		He is assisted by the Elector of Brandenburg . . . 417
	Leopold of Austria aids John Casimir . . . —	1659.	England and Holland intervene . . . —
	Retreat of Charles X. . . —		First Convention of the Hague . . . 418
	Frederick William becomes Sovereign of Prussia . . . 409	1660.	Death of Charles X. . . 419
			Treaties of Oliva and Copenhagen . . . —
		1661.	Peace of Kardis . . . 420

CHAPTER XXXVII

The Supremacy of France

1656.	Death of John IV. of Portugal	422	1672.	Alliance of France and Sweden	444
	War with the Dutch	—		Of Spain and Holland (1671)	445
	Accession of Alfonso VI.	—		De Witt's Administration	—
	Marriage of Charles II. and Catharine of Bragança (1662)	424		France and England declare War against Holland	447
	Alfonso deposed	—		The French invade Holland	—
	Character of Louis XIV.	—		Arrogant Demands of Louvois	448
1665.	Death of Philip IV. of Spain	427		Revolution in Holland	450
	Louis XIV. claims the Netherlands	—		Murder of the De Witts	—
	War between England and Holland	428		English Demands on Holland	451
1666.	Louis declares War against England	429	1673.	Treaty of Vossem	453
1667.	The Dutch at Sheerness	431		Coalition against Louis	—
	Peace of Breda	—	1674.	Peace between England and Holland	454
	Louis invades the Netherlands	—		The Emperor declares War against France	455
1668.	Reduces Franche-Comté	433		The French in the Palatinate	456
	Policy of De Witt	434	1675.	Death of Turenne	457
	The Triple Alliance	435		French and Dutch in Sicily	—
	Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle	436	1676.	Death of De Ruyter	458
	Dutch Pride	437		Charles II. sells himself to France	—
1669.	Charles II. courts Louis XIV.	439	1677.	Marriage of William and Mary	459
1670.	Treaty between them	—	1678.	Charles II. allies himself with Holland	460
	The French occupy Lorraine	440		French Campaign	—
	Treaty between Louis and the Emperor (1668)	441		Peace of Nimeguen	461
	Louis aspires to the Imperial Crown	442	1679.	Peace between Louis and the Emperor	462
1672.	The Elector of Brandenburg allies himself with the Dutch	443		Louis in his greatest glory	463

TABLE OF CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

(The Years show the end of their Reigns.)

THE EMPIRE.	FRANCE.	ENGLAND.	TURKEY.	SPAIN.
Rodolph II. . . . 1612	Henry III. . . . 1589	Elizabeth 1603	Amurath III. . . . 1595	Philip II. . . . 1598
Matthias 1619	Henry IV. . . . 1610	James I. . . . 1625	Mahomet III. . . . 1603	Philip III. . . . 1621
Ferdinand II. . . . 1637	Louis XIII. . . . 1643	Charles I. . . . 1649	Achmet I. . . . 1617	Philip IV. . . . 1665
Ferdinand III. . . . 1657	Louis XIV. . . . 1715	Commonwealth 1660	Mustapha I. . . . 1618	Charles II. . . . 1700
Leopold I. . . . 1705		Charles II. . . . 1685	Osman II. . . . 1622	
		James II. . . . 1689	Mustapha (restd.) 1623	
			Amurath IV. . . . 1640	
			Ibrahim 1648	
			Mahomet IV. . . . 1687	
POPES.	SWEDEN.	DENMARK.	POLAND.	PORTUGAL.
Gregory XIII. . . . 1585	Christina 1654	Frederick III. . . . 1588	Stephen Bathori. . . . 1586	(House of Bragança, 1640.)
Sixtus V. . . . 1590	Charles X. . . . 1660	Christian IV. . . . 1648	Sigismund III. . . . 1632	
Urban VII. . . . —	Charles XI. . . . 1697	Frederick III. . . . 1670	Wladislaus IV. . . . 1648	John III. . . . 1656
Gregory XIV. . . . 1591		Christian V. . . . 1699	John Casimir V. . . . 1669	Alfonso VI. . . . 1667
Innocent IX. . . . 1592			Michael 1673	Peter II. . . . 1706
Clement VIII. . . . 1605			John Sobieski 1696	
Leo XI. . . . —				
Paul V. . . . 1621				
Gregory XV. . . . 1623				
Urban VIII. . . . 1644				
Innocent X. . . . 1655				
Alexander VII. . . . 1667				
Clement IX. . . . 1670				
Clement X. . . . 1676				
Innocent XI. . . . 1689				

HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE

CHAPTER XXV

THE RISE OF THE DUTCH REPUBLIC

THE history of the revolt in the Netherlands has been carried down in a former chapter to the pacification of Ghent, November 8th, 1576. It was a mistake on the part of Philip II. to leave the country eight months with only an *ad interim* government. Had he immediately filled up the vacancy occasioned by the death of Requesens, either by the appointment of his sister Margaret, or any other person, the States could not have seized upon the government, and the alliance established at Ghent would not have been effected, by which an almost independent commonwealth was established. But Philip seems to have been puzzled as to the choice of a successor; and his selection, at length, of his brother, Don John of Austria, caused a further considerable delay. Don John, the hero of Lepanto, was, at that time, Governor of the Milanese, where necessary arrangements compelled him to remain some time after his appointment. He had then to proceed to Spain for instructions, whence he travelled through France into the Low Countries.

Don John
of Austria
Governor of
the Nether-
lands.

The state of the Netherlands compelled Don John to enter them not with the pomp and dignity becoming the lawful representative of a great Sovereign, but stealthily, like a traitor or conspirator. In Luxembourg alone, the only province which had not joined the new federation, could he expect to be received; and he entered its capital four days before the publication of the treaty of Ghent, in the disguise of a Moorish servant, and in the train of Don Ottavio Gonzaga, brother of the Prince of Melfi. Without money or arms, he was obliged

The Union
of Brussels.

to negotiate with the federal assembly, now removed from Ghent to Brussels, in order to procure the recognition of his authority. At the instance of the Prince of Orange, the congress insisted on the withdrawal of the Spanish troops, the maintenance of the treaty of Ghent, an act of amnesty for past offences, the convocation of the States-General, and an oath from Don John that he would respect all the charters and customs of the country. The new Governor was violent, but the deputies were firm; and in January, 1577, was formed the UNION OF BRUSSELS, the professed objects of which were, the immediate expulsion of the Spaniards, and the execution of the Pacification of Ghent; while at the same time the Roman Catholic religion and the King's authority were to be upheld. This Union, which was only a more popular repetition of the treaty of Ghent, soon obtained numberless signatures. By the stipulation in favour of Catholicism, it contained the seeds of its own dissolution; but it became the stepping-stone to the more important Union of Utrecht.

Meanwhile Rodolph II., the new Emperor, had offered his mediation, and appointed the Bishop of Liège to use his good offices between the parties; who, with the assistance of Duke William of Jülich brought, or seemed to bring, the new Governor to a more reasonable frame of mind. Don John, however, was perhaps in reality determined by instructions brought to him from Spain by his secretary Escovedo, recommending no doubt that duplicity which characterized the policy of the Spanish Court. When the negotiations were resumed at Marche-en-Famène, Don John yielded all the points in dispute, and embodied them in what was called the PERPETUAL EDICT, published March 12th, 1577. The Prince of Orange suspected from the first that these concessions were a mere deception, intended to be violated on the first opportunity; and his suspicions of the Governor's hypocrisy were afterwards confirmed by intercepted letters. Although, to the astonishment of those not in the secret, the Perpetual Edict was confirmed by Philip, the Prince of Orange refused to publish it in Holland and Zealand. To his secret motives we have referred; the chief objections, which he publicly alleged, were that no definite time had been fixed for the assembling of the States-General; that the ratification of the treaty of Ghent was not categorical; that the States were called upon to pay the foreign mercenaries who had oppressed

them; and that his son, Count Buren, was still detained a prisoner. Don John endeavoured to gain over the Prince by private negotiations, in which magnificent offers were made to him; but William was incorruptible.

The Perpetual Edict did not produce any immediate separation between the northern and southern provinces. Although the Spanish troops were actually sent away in April, the Catholics as well as Protestants still harboured suspicions of the Spaniards; and when Don John entered Brussels, May 1st, 1577, the citizens refused to give him possession of the citadel. Finding himself a Governor merely in name, and without any real authority, he resolved to seize by stealth the power which was withheld from him. On pretence of paying a visit to the consort of Henry of Navarre, who was on her way to the baths of Spa, Don John proceeded to Namur, where the citadel was commanded by two sons of Count Berlainmont, who were favourable to his views, and who gave him possession of that fortress. He soon after got possession of Charlemont and Marienburg, but failed in an attempt upon the citadel of Antwerp. These steps he excused on the ground that they were necessary to his security, pretending that a conspiracy had been formed to take his life. The Prince of Orange endeavoured to prevail on the States to resent these encroachments, and to attack Don John with all their force; but this seemed too bold a step to the aristocratic and Catholic party, led by the Duke of Aerschot. The exertions of William were thus confined to his own provinces of Holland and Zealand, where a college of eighteen persons was appointed to promote the popular cause. Permission was obtained from the Catholic States for deputies from Holland and Zealand to enter the Brussels assembly, where they often gave the tone; and they even succeeded in effecting an alliance between the States and the Elector Palatine, a Prince much dreaded by the Catholic party. When the negotiations were resumed with Don John, the States demanded that the citadels of Ghent and Antwerp should be razed; but the popular party in those cities levelled them to the ground without waiting for his answer.

On the 23rd of September, 1577, the Prince of Orange, at the invitation of the States-General, entered Brussels amid great rejoicings and the acclamations of the people, who hailed him as "Father William." During his absence prayers

Don John
seizes
Namur.

Popularity
of William
of Nassau.

were daily offered up for his safety in the churches of Holland and Zealand. The Prince immediately stopped all negotiations with Don John, and prescribed to him conditions so stringent, that he regarded them as a declaration of war, and retired to Luxembourg. Aerschot and the Catholic nobility were averse to these proceedings, though they were unable to hinder them. When they acceded to the Pacification of Ghent, they had hoped to obtain the leading influence in the government; they now saw with jealousy the chief power in the hands of Orange and his party, yet at the same time they hated and suspected the Spaniards. On the other hand William became the favourite of the people. The Brabanters elected him their *Ruward*, a dignity which was generally reserved for the heir to the sovereignty, and conferred upon him an almost dictatorial power. He was also offered the Stadholdership of Flanders, which, however, he declined. These marks of popular favour were bestowed upon Orange partly in consequence of a step taken by his opponents. The Catholic aristocrats, who disliked both Don John and the Prince of Orange, had called in as their Governor the Archduke Matthias, a youth of twenty years of age, brother of the Emperor Rodolph II. Matthias accepted the invitation, and came to Brussels without consulting his brother; but he had no talent, and was never anything more than a puppet in the hand of contending factions. To avoid useless contention, as well as not to give offence to the Germans, Orange accepted the nomination of Matthias, and received him with honour. On the 7th December, 1577, the States-General formally deposed Don John, and declared all who should assist him rebels and traitors; and on the 10th a fresh "Union of Brussels" was signed, by which Protestantism was placed on a more favourable footing than by the Pacification of Ghent. This, however, was the last time that the Netherlands were united, nor did their union prove of long duration. Matthias was inaugurated at Antwerp as Governor-General, January 18th, 1578, having first subscribed a constitution drawn up under the superintendence of the Prince of Orange. William was to be his Lieutenant-General; a step insisted on by Queen Elizabeth, who had now begun to afford the Netherlanders some substantial assistance. Her motives were somewhat selfish. She had discovered that Don John was plotting with the Pope and the Guises to depose her, to espouse Mary

The States
depose
Don John.

Queen of Scots, and to seize the Crown of England. Elizabeth's help to the Netherlanders had hitherto been confined to small grants of money; but, although Philip II. appears to have disapproved of the scheme of Don John, she now adopted more warlike counsels, and in 1577 made a treaty with the States, by which she agreed to send 5,000 foot and 1,000 horse into the Low Countries, to be paid for by the States, but commanded by a general of her own, who was to be received into the Netherland Council. She also agreed to lend them her credit for £100,000, for which she was to receive the bonds of some of the chief towns in the Netherlands, and her liability was to cease within a year.¹ This treaty was signed January 7th, 1578, and the English forces, under Sir John Norris, proceeded into the Netherlands.

Elizabeth
helps the
Dutch.

It being now plain that the acceptance of Don John as Governor could be accomplished only by force, Philip II. assembled an army of about 20,000 Spanish and Italian veterans, which he intrusted to the command of Alexander Farnese, son of Ottavio, Duke of Parma, and Margaret, the late Regent of the Netherlands. At the same time the Pope published a bull in favour of Don John, similar to those formerly issued during the crusades against the Saracens. The Netherlanders also assembled a considerable force under De Goignies, and towards the end of January, 1578, both armies were ready to take the field. As the soldiers of the States were mostly raw recruits, Orange advised an immediate attack upon Don John, then at Namur; but this council was overruled, and they waited to be assaulted near GEMBOURS, January 31st. A charge of cavalry led by Alexander Farnese decided the victory in favour of the Royalists. Vast numbers of the Netherlanders fell in the battle, and all the prisoners, to the number of about 600, were put to death. It was thought that Don John would now march upon Brussels, and the States, the Council, and the Prince of Orange fled to Antwerp; instead of which, however, the victorious general employed himself in taking some towns of less importance, as Louvain, Nivelles, Bovines, and others.

Battle of
Gemblours.

Meanwhile Orange was drawing into the League those Dutch towns which had not yet renounced their allegiance to Philip II., and especially Amsterdam; the accession of which

Battle of
Rymenant.

¹ Camden's *Elizabeth*, vol. i. p. 373 (ed. 1625).

important city, February 8th, 1578, more than counter-balanced the defeat at Gemblours. Aerschot's party, who had discovered that the Archduke Matthias was entirely useless, applied to the weak Duke of Anjou, to accept the protectorate of the Netherlands; while Queen Elizabeth, who dreaded the extension by that means of French influence, by way of counterpoise, recommended the States to seek the assistance of John Casimir, brother of the Elector Palatine; and she advanced money to pay the German troops whom he might conduct into the Low Countries. John Casimir, however, who had little military talent, and had only distinguished himself by some marauding expeditions, did not join the patriots till near the end of August; who, meanwhile, chiefly through the valour of the English under Norris, had defeated Don John at RYMENANTS (August 1st). The allies were so strongly posted, being protected on one side by the river Demer, on another by a wood, and on a third by entrenchments, that Don John was counselled by his best captains not to attack them; but he was anxious to give battle before the arrival of John Casimir. The attack was repulsed, and Don John's army would have suffered greatly in its retreat, had not Alexander Farnese covered it in a masterly manner with his cavalry.

This was the last exploit of the victor of Lepanto. He retired under the cannon of Namur; Philip II. sent him no assistance, and caused his secretary to be murdered in Spain for too zealously promoting his master's chimerical marriage with Mary Stuart. Bossu, the commander of the patriot army, threatening Nivelles, Don John broke up to attack him, but was seized on the way with a fatal illness (October 1st, 1578), at Bougy, a poor village near Namur. The short administration of Don John may appear to have produced no result; but he in reality initiated the system which preserved so large a portion of the Netherlands to the Spanish Crown. Although he began the war contrary to the wishes of Philip, yet it was evident that matters had gone too far to be accommodated by any reconciliation with the States: and he therefore determined on a gradual subjugation of the revolted provinces, partly by force and partly by negotiation. He revived the attachment of the Walloons to the House of Burgundy; he won over to his view Pardieu de la Motte, the commandant of Gravelines, and Matthew

Death of
Don John.

Moulart, Bishop of Arras, and employed them in his negotiations with singular success.

Don John was succeeded, both in the civil and military command, by his nephew Alexander Farnese, who was only a few months younger than his uncle, and had shared with him the glory of Lepanto. In personal appearance he formed a striking contrast to his relative. His head was round and covered with short, black, bristly hair; his forehead high but narrow; his nose aquiline; the lower part of his face covered with a bushy black beard; his features were handsome; but wore a somewhat sinister expression. His character was cool, artful, determined; and, though lacking the fascination of Don John, he had the power of inspiring confidence. Both as a politician and a military commander he was by far the ablest Governor that had yet been seen in the Netherlands.

Farnese
Governor of
the Nether-
lands.

Before the death of Don John, the Catholic party and Walloon provinces had virtually superseded the Archduke Matthias, by calling in the Duke of Anjou; nor had the Prince of Orange opposed their choice, though he dictated to the French Prince a convention which he signed at Mons, August 13th. Anjou's vanity was tickled with the magnificent title of "Defender of the liberty of the Netherlands against the tyranny of the Spaniards and their adherents," but he was deprived of all real power. Anjou's coming had been dreaded and opposed by Elizabeth on political grounds, although she still coquetted with him as a suitor.¹ He entered the Netherlands in September, 1578, took Binche by assault, and Maubeuge by capitulation; but under pretence of a deference to the will of Elizabeth, refrained from further conquests and retired into France. The policy of the English Queen on this subject differed from that of her ministers, who would have gladly seen the Netherlands separated, even by a French conquest, from the Crown of Spain; while it was the wish of Elizabeth that they should be restored to Philip, though with security for the preservation of their ancient liberties. She had indeed too high an idea of the divine right of Kings to regard the successful revolt of subjects with approbation.

The Duke
of Anjou
called in by
the Nether-
landers.

¹ Letter of Sir Amias Paulet to Leicester, in Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, etc. t. iv. p. 421 sq.

Insurrec-
tion at
Ghent.

Farnese pursued the same policy as his predecessor in endeavouring to conciliate the Catholic provinces; and the democratic violence of two demagogues at last enabled him to destroy the Pacification of Ghent. In the autumn of 1577 the nobles Imbize and Ryhove had incited an insurrection in Ghent, and had seized and imprisoned the Duke of Aerschot and ten gentlemen of his suite, because the Duke, who had been elected Stadholder of Flanders, had delayed the promised confirmation of the ancient privileges of the city. Of these two leaders Ryhove was bold, savage, and unscrupulous. Imbize, with equal cruelty, was treacherous and cowardly, but possessed more eloquence and talent. He had conceived the chimerical idea of establishing a Republic and converting Ghent into a second Rome. These demagogues had formed a democratic government consisting of an executive of eighteen citizens, while the legislative power was vested in the deans of the guilds and the council of war of the city train-bands. The example of Ghent was followed by those towns where a proletarian population abounded; as Dendermonde, Courtray, Hulst, Oudenarde, and at last also Bruges. These proceedings were viewed with great disapprobation by the Prince of Orange, as calculated materially to damage the patriot cause. He sent an envoy to remonstrate with the leaders, and in December proceeded himself to Ghent; but all that he could effect was the liberation of the Duke of Aerschot. The disorders in that city went on increasing, and in the course of 1578 attained to such a height that the Walloon aristocracy trembled for their religion and even for their lives. The democratic party raged against the Catholics, broke the images in the churches, and seized on the property of the monks and clergy. A sort of internecine war ensued. The Walloons, with a body of French, headed by Pardieu, lord of La Motte, robbed, murdered, and destroyed up to the very gates of Ghent; while on the other hand, Ryhove and La Noue, having got together a force of French Huguenots, desolated the Walloon territories. These disorders caused the dissolution of the Brussels Union and of the Pacification of Ghent. The Walloons, who complained that faith had not been kept with them, entered into negotiations with Farnese; and in January, 1579, they concluded a separate league among themselves at Arras. The Prince of Orange, on his side, united the Calvinist provinces together

in an alliance called a perpetual union; which, from its being proclaimed at Utrecht, January 29th, 1579, obtained the name of the UNION OF UTRECHT. It was subscribed by deputies from Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Gelderland, and the rural districts of Groningen, and in the course of the same year was acceded to by Friesland, Overijssel, Drenthe, and the town of Groningen. The towns of Ghent, Bruges, Antwerp, and Ypres were also members of the Union for a time. The Union of Utrecht must be regarded as the foundation of the Dutch Republic, although the various provinces and towns which subscribed it did not renounce their allegiance to Philip II.; on the contrary, the professed intention of the union was to maintain the Pacification of Ghent, which acknowledge that Sovereign. The United Provinces did not propose in their corporate capacity to meddle with domestic politics or religion, but merely to drive the foreigner from the land; and though they were to remain perpetually united, each province and town was to retain its peculiar laws, privileges, and customs.

Union of
Utrecht.

Ste. Aldegonde having been despatched by the Netherland States to the Diet assembled at Worms to implore the assistance of the Empire against the tyranny of the Spaniards, an attempt was made at the instance of the Emperor, Rodolph II., whose brother Matthias was still the ostensible Governor of the Netherlands, to effect a reconciliation between the provinces and the Spanish King; and with that view a congress was held at Cologne in April, at which plenipotentiaries attended from the Pope, the Emperor, the Spanish King, and the Netherlands, as well as from France, England, and several of the German Princes. Cobham and Walsingham were the English envoys; but the negotiations had no result. The Papal Nuncio would of course listen to no proposals of toleration, and Philip II. insisted that the Netherlands should remain in the same state as under Charles V. He promised, indeed, to remove the Spanish troops; but he would acknowledge the Protestant religion only in Holland and Zealand, and that only for a time; while on the other hand the States would relax none of the conditions on which the governorship had been conceded to Matthias. An appeal to arms became therefore again inevitable; hostilities, indeed, had not been interrupted during the congress, and Farnese, after threatening Antwerp, had laid siege to Maestricht.

Congress at
Cologne.

Farnese's
treaty with
the Wal-
loons, 1579.

The Walloon provinces now entirely separated themselves from the rest, and concluded a treaty with Farnese in his camp before Maestricht, May 17th, 1579, by which the authority of the King was indeed restored, but under strict limitations. Philip promised to dismiss all foreign troops, and to confirm all present possessors in the offices which they had acquired during the disturbances. Of all the Walloon towns, Tournay, Cambray, and Bouchain alone adhered to the States. The leading Walloon nobles who negotiated this treaty made the Spaniards pay for their adhesion; the price of their loyalty being a military command, the government of a province, the order of the Golden Fleece, or even a payment in money.¹ But as the Walloon provinces were as fanatical as Philip himself, they made no stipulations about religion. Thus the Netherlands became divided into three distinct parties: 1, the Calvinist provinces of the north which had entered into the Union of Utrecht; 2, the Dutch-speaking middle provinces, containing an almost equal number of Catholics and Protestants; and 3, the wholly Catholic Walloon provinces of the south which had resumed their obedience to the Spanish government.

William of
Orange in
Ghent.

Maestricht, after an admirable defence of three months, during which numberless assaults were repulsed, was at length taken, June 29th, the inhabitants having been surprised in their sleep. During three days the Spaniards exercised the most abominable cruelties. Fortunately Farnese's treaty with the Walloons compelled him now to dismiss his Spanish troops, and he was consequently obliged to remain quiet for a period. The Prince of Orange availed himself of the opportunity thus afforded to strengthen his party by getting rid of the Archduke Matthias and the Ghent radicals. Matthias, as well as the Count Palatine John Casimir, were members of the Ghent democracy. Davidson, the English ambassador to the States, had complained bitterly of the Ghent demagogues, and especially of John Casimir, who was subsidized by England. The Count Palatine went to England to justify himself, and obtained from Elizabeth the Garter and a pension; but his troops in the Netherlands, which had done nothing but plunder, were dismissed. The Prince of Orange proceeded to Ghent in

¹ See Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, etc. t. vi. p. 521 sqq.

August, 1579, to put the affairs of that city in order in the name of the States-General. Imbize now fled into the Palatinate; but having ventured to return in 1584, was seized and executed. William restored in Ghent a mild and moderate government, established a toleration of both religions, and enforced a restitution of the spoils that had been committed both on private property and that of the Church.

After the taking of Maestricht and withdrawal of the Spanish troops, the war languished, Philip being fortunately occupied with other affairs. The Confederates, however, were not in a position to take advantage of this state of things, and it plainly appeared how difficult it is for a confederacy of this kind to make head against a powerful and united monarchy. The several provinces which composed it were more attentive to their own advantage than to the general good; while those who held commands in them were not always inaccessible to the influence of corruption. In March, 1580, a great Walloon noble, George de Lalaing, Count of Renneberg, who, although a Catholic, had served the Union of Utrecht with his mercenaries under John Casimir, and now occupied the town and fortress of Groningen, sold himself to the Spaniards for a pension of 20,000 florins and other advantages. Hence Groningen and Friesland were for some time lost to the league, and the Prince of Orange himself was put into considerable danger. His peril was increased by a step which Granvelle had advised Philip to adopt. A change of ministry had at length restored that Cardinal, who had languished many years in Italy, to the counsels of his Sovereign. His predecessor, Don Antonio Perez, who had taken the Princess of Eboli, a mistress of Philip's, for his own, was discovered and disgraced: he and the Princess were arrested July 28th, 1579, and on the same day Granvelle entered Madrid. One of his first steps was to propose the proscription of the Prince of Orange. William was accordingly placed under the royal ban, and a price of 25,000 gold crowns was set upon his head.¹ In the preamble to this instrument

Cardinal
Granvelle
resumes
office.

William of
Nassau
proscribed.

¹ Groen van Prinsterer, t. vii. p. 166. Philip recommended as a model the ban published by his father against the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Hesse. William's person and goods were to be abandoned to any one—"pour impunément outrager sa personne et occuper les biens qu'encore luy appartiennent."—P. 168.

all the various crimes imputed to Orange were recited ; he was compared to Cain and Judas, and declared an enemy of the human race ; and besides the proffered reward, whoever should kill him was promised, not only a pardon for any crime, however heinous, that he might have committed, but also that, if not already noble, he should be ennobled for his valour.

His
Apologie.

This proscription was answered by William in his celebrated *Apologie*, or Vindication ; a paper drawn up with great eloquence and force of reasoning, though it sometimes oversteps the bounds of moderation, and brings charges against Philip, which, though the popular rumours of the day, the judgment of history has not always confirmed.¹ The Prince rejoices in the opportunity of defending his character, not against an obscure libeller, but a great and powerful King. He recites the benefits which his family had conferred upon the House of Habsburg, who were obscure when his ancestors filled the Imperial throne. He observes that a Netherlander owed Philip no allegiance as King, but only as Duke, or Count, or Lord ; and as Philip had violated the oath which he took to observe the privileges of the various provinces, both parties were released from their engagements. Philip, indeed, might plead the Pope's dispensation, and the Prince left it to divines to determine whether the arrogance of the Pope in presuming to release men from such obligations were not an invasion of the prerogative of heaven, and destructive of all faith among men. It was enough for him to remark the folly of such a proceeding ; for, as the tie was mutual, the dispensation for Philip himself released also Philip's subjects, whom it was therefore absurd to reproach with disloyalty. He rebuts the charge of being the author of these disturbances, which were imputable solely to the cruelty and tyranny of the Spanish rule. He charges Philip with murder, and Granvelle with having administered poison to the Emperor Maximilian. To this paper Orange affixed his name and arms, with his motto, " Je maintiendray ; " and he sent a copy of it to most of the European Sovereigns. It alarmed even the boldest of his friends, and Ste. Aldegonde,

¹ The *Apologie* is in Dumont, *Corps Dipl.* t. v. pt. i. p. 384. An abstract of it is given by Watson in his *Hist. of Philip II.* vol. iii. appendix. The paper has been attributed to the pen of Villers, William's chaplain, a Frenchman.

when he read it in France, observed that the Prince was a dead man.

It was now plain that even that limited recognition of Philip's authority, which had hitherto prevailed in the Netherlands, could not much longer continue to be observed, and must be superseded by open rebellion and the assertion of independence. But such a step could not be ventured on without foreign assistance, and Orange determined on calling in the Duke of Anjou. That Prince, as we have said, had been named Protector of the Netherlands in 1578; but the state of affairs in France had prevented him from taking possession of his new dignity. Orange now persuaded the States to renew the negotiations with him, and to offer him the Stadholdership; but as the Netherlanders reposed even less confidence in Anjou than in Matthias, it was arranged that he should accept the office under the same limitations as the Archduke. The conditions were carried by a deputation from the States to the Duke, whom they found at Plessis-lès-Tours, where the treaty was concluded, September 29th, 1580. The chief stipulations were, that he was to maintain all the rights and privileges of the different provinces, of which he was to be Duke, Count, Margrave, or Lord, according to their different constitutions, and was to be succeeded by one of his children. He agreed to assemble the States-General at least once a year, to reside constantly in the Netherlands, and to bestow offices on none but natives. Holland and Zealand, however, which had put themselves specially under the authority of the Prince of Orange, were altogether excluded from this arrangement; and, indeed, Anjou signed a secret paper, entirely renouncing all pretensions to them. The Archduke Matthias laid down his office at Antwerp, and was mean enough to accept a retiring pension of 50,000 florins, which, however, does not seem to have been regularly paid; and in October, 1581, he returned to Austria, where he became the tool of those who were discontented with the government of his brother, the Emperor Rodolph II. In the Netherlands he had been simply insignificant.

The Duke
of Anjou
Stadholder.

Circumstances prevented the Duke of Anjou from being installed in his new dignity until 1582. On the 26th of July, 1581, the States-General of the United Provinces assembled at the Hague, formally renounced their allegiance to Philip

Dutch in-
dependence
declared.

by a solemn ACT OF ABJURATION,¹ and deposed him from his sovereignty. In this act his crimes against the people were elaborately enumerated; among which appear prominently the introduction of the Spanish troops, the creation of the new bishoprics, the establishment of the Inquisition, the cruelties of Alva, the "Spanish Fury," and finally, the proscription of the Prince of Orange. The act is justified by an appeal to the LAW OF NATURE. Subjects, it is said, are not created by God to be the mere chattels of the Prince, to obey his commands, whether just or unjust, and to serve him like slaves; on the contrary, the Prince is appointed, like the shepherd of a flock, for the good of his subjects, to govern them according to law and reason. If he neglects to do this, if, instead of defending, he oppresses them, by depriving them of their ancient privileges and customs, he is no longer to be regarded as a Prince, but as a tyrant; and if his subjects cannot deter him from his oppressions by their prayers and their remonstrances, they are no longer bound, in law and reason, to recognize him for their Sovereign.

Doctrine of
the Sovereignty
of
the people.

Thus was raised the first voice of political liberty proceeding from the spirit of the Reformation; thus was struck the first blow which shook the monarchical principle in its hitherto recognized foundation. Previous revolts had been mere instinctive risings against tyranny and oppression; but the enunciation, as a principle of natural law, of the right of resistance to tyrannous Sovereigns, proclaimed an age that had begun to feel and to reflect upon its civil as well as its religious privileges. The deliberate and solemn nature of the act produced all the more profound sensation in Europe; for the Declaration of Independence was not a democratic revolution, or an appeal to the people; the United Provinces did not style themselves a Republic, nor, in fact, make any change in their form of government; and the offer of their Sovereignty to Queen Elizabeth, and to the Duke of Anjou, shows that they were still inclined to be governed by a Prince. Still less was their formal connection with the Empire dissolved by this measure. The whole proceeding was managed by the regular assembly of the States, as if in

¹ The act, which was drawn up by Ste. Aldegonde, is in Dumont, t. v. pt. i. p. 413 sqq. The life of Marnix de Ste. Aldegonde, who is entitled to be styled one of the founders of the Dutch republic, has been written by Quinet.

the ordinary course of business ; and so far from sanctioning a democracy, such as that attempted by Imbize and Ryhove, the divine right of Kings was acknowledged by the Act,¹ and afterwards by the envoys of the States at the Diet of Augsburg, in 1582. In fact, it is remarkable that the doctrine of the Sovereignty of the people was first broached, not by the Protestants, but by the Jesuits and the high Catholic party. It formed part of their theory of the omnipotence of the Pope, who alone reigned by divine right, and that only in his spiritual capacity. Bellarmine was the first who attempted to establish this doctrine logically and systematically. He maintained that the people have, in extreme emergencies, a natural right to resume the government and alter its forms ; and this view became the prevailing doctrine of all the Jesuit schools, and was by none more emphatically taught than by the Spanish Jesuits Suarez and Mariana.² It was of course levelled against heretical sovereigns such as Queen Elizabeth in England, and Henry IV. in France. Two days before the Act of Abjuration was published, the Prince of Orange accepted the sovereignty of Holland and Zeeland, though limited at his own request to the period during which the war should last ; a limitation, however, afterwards cancelled by the States without William's knowledge. He was to maintain in those provinces the public exercise of the reformed religion alone ; but no inquiries were to be made into any man's belief, nor was any hindrance to be offered to him on the ground of his religion.

Fortunately Philip was at this time occupied with the affairs of Portugal, and Alexander Farnese was not in a position to push the war with much vigour. He had not only dismissed his Spanish and Italian veterans, but was also involved in a quarrel with the Spanish King and with his own mother, Margaret, whom Philip II. had sent back to rule the Netherlands. Farnese, however, refusing to share his power with her, Margaret at length withdrew her pre-

Anjou
enters the
Nether-
lands.

¹ The preamble begins : " Comme il est notoire à un chacun qu'un prince du païs *est etably de Dieu* pour souverain et chef des sujets, pour les défendre et conserver de toutes injures," etc. The passage deposing Philip runs : " Nous suivant la loi de Nature, pour la tuition et défense de nous et des autres habitans, etc. . . . déclarons le Roi d'Espagne *déchu* IPSO JURE de sa souveraineté."

² See Ranke, *Popes*, vol. ii. p. 8.

tensions, and though she lived under an assumed name upwards of three years in the Netherlands, she forbore to take any ostensible part in public affairs. The Duke of Anjou, whom Henry III. had pretended to disavow, entered the Low Countries about the middle of August (1581) with an army of some 15,000 men, and compelled Farnese to raise the siege of Cambray, one of the few Walloon towns which adhered to the Union of Utrecht. Anjou entered Cambray in triumph; but this was the extent of his exploits. Through his own improvidence, as well as for want of succour from the French Court, which was wasting its resources in dissipation and extravagance, Anjou found himself obliged to disband his army; and in November he went with a splendid retinue to England to press in person his suit to Queen Elizabeth. Being disappointed at Cambray, Farnese next turned his arms against Tournay, which after a brave defence of two months, conducted by Christine de Lalaing, Princess of Espinoy, in the absence of her husband, the commandant, was forced to surrender, November 30th.

Anjou woos
Elizabeth.

Queen Elizabeth was at this period much embittered against the Spanish Court, on account of its intrigues with the discontented nobles and with Mary Stuart. When Farnese resumed hostilities, she sent some troops into the Netherlands under Colonel Norris, who proved of considerable service to the Dutch; yet she was not inclined to provoke an open war with Spain; and much to the regret of Leicester,¹ she for the second time declined the offer made to her by the States of Holland and Zealand, early in 1582, of the sovereignty of these two provinces. How far her negotiations with Anjou were the result of policy or coquetry, it may not be easy to determine. The Duke, who was at that time twenty-eight years of age, possessed considerable grace and vivacity, though in person below the middle size, puny and ill-shaped. Elizabeth had always reserved for herself a loophole of escape; and to the contract for the marriage drawn up in June, 1581, was appended a provision for the exchange of certain mutual explanations.² He soon after

¹ See his *Letter* to the Earl of Shrewsbury, March 8th, 1582, in Lodge's *Illustrations*, vol. ii. p. 262.

² Dumont, *Corps Diplomatique*, t. v. pt. i. p. 406 sq. The proviso reserved is in the Declaration of the French commissioners attached to the Treaty, p. 411.

quitted the shores of England and landed at Flushing, February 10th, 1582. Hence he was conducted by the Prince of Orange, by water, to Antwerp, took the customary oaths upon his *joyeuse entrée* into that city, and was formally proclaimed Duke of Brabant.

About a month after the installation of Anjou, an attempt was made at Antwerp to murder the Prince of Orange. The Court of Spain followed up the diabolical policy adopted in the ban by entering into a regular contract with one Anastro, a bankrupt merchant of Antwerp, for the murder of William. This contract, which was signed by Philip *with his own hand*, and sealed with his seal, guaranteed to Anastro the sum of 80,000 ducats for the perpetration of the deed, besides the cross of St. Iago! Anastro intrusted the matter, as if it had been in the regular course of business, to his servant named Jauregui; who, being incited by a fanatical friar, and tempted with the offer of near three thousand crowns, undertook the assassination. Jauregui chose for that purpose the birthday of the Duke of Anjou (March 18th). The Prince of Orange, who had been dining at his own house, was just rising from table, when Jauregui approached under pretence of presenting a petition, and discharged a pistol at him. The ball entered the Prince's neck, under the right ear, passed through the roof of the mouth, and came out under the left jaw, carrying away two teeth in its passage. The pistol had been held so near that the flash cicatrized the wound, which otherwise would probably have been mortal. The assassin was instantly cut down. The more calculating Anastro had left Antwerp before the attempt, and escaped into the Prince of Parma's lines. William was in such danger during three weeks, that his wife, Charlotte of Bourbon, died of anxiety.

Attempt
to murder
William.

The French were not popular in the Netherlands, and a report was immediately spread that the crime had been committed at the instigation of Anjou. The infuriated populace crowded to the palace of St. Michael, the residence of this French Duke at Antwerp; and but for the presence of mind of William's son Maurice, then a mere youth, a fearful massacre would have ensued. Maurice had guessed at once that the crime had its origin in Spain, and the papers found in the assassin's pocket proved his suspicions to be correct. These papers he now showed to the people, and thus appeased them for the moment; but a lurking suspicion still

Action of
Anjou.

remained, and all mutual confidence was lost. Anjou became daily more dissatisfied with his position, in which he felt that he had no real power, being constantly watched and controlled by the Prince of Orange. He told his followers that only two alternatives were left for him; either to retire into France, which would cover him with disgrace, or to assert his authority in the Netherlands with a strong hand. Adopting the latter design, he distributed his French forces in certain Flemish towns, which he wished to occupy, with directions to the commanders, when the opportunity should arrive, to overpower the magistrates and seize those places. It was in fact a repetition of the policy of Don John when he seized Namur. The plan succeeded at Ostend, Dendermonde, Dixmude, Dunkirk, and a few other towns; but it was frustrated at Bruges and Nieuport, while at Antwerp, which Anjou himself undertook to master, it occasioned a fearful massacre.

The
"French
Fury" at
Antwerp,
1583.

Except his body-guard, Anjou had no troops inside Antwerp; but his French soldiers lay at no great distance, and on the 17th January, 1583, having assembled them near the city on pretence of a review, he rode out with his guard to one of the gates; the burgher watch was suddenly overpowered, and the troops began to enter with cries of *Ville gagnée! Vive la messe! Tue, tue!* and then began to disperse themselves for plunder. Their triumph was premature. The inhabitants called to mind that several distinguished French officers had some time before been carefully examining the goldsmith's shops under pretence of purchasing: the object of the attack was plain; the native troops and citizens flew to arms, and a terrible conflict ensued. The streets were quickly secured with chains and barricades; the French were shot at from the windows; even women and children attacked them; and after a short struggle the 3,500 Frenchmen who had entered were driven out with the loss of more than half their number, while the chief nobles in the Duke's retinue were either killed or made prisoners. This treacherous attack which obtained the name of "the French Fury," was much less disastrous than the Spanish Fury. The French were not so well versed in the sacking of towns as the Spaniards, who proceeded more methodically, by first butchering the inhabitants and then appropriating their property; while the French began to plunder before they had secured their

opponents. Anjou was bitterly reviled by many of his own officers, who were too honourable to partake in the plot and to whom he had not ventured to reveal it. When he saw its ill success, he withdrew towards Dendermonde; whereupon the citizens of Mechlin, by cutting a dyke, let out the waters of the Dyle, and drowned about 1,000 of his followers. After this act Anjou of course ceased to be regarded by the Netherlanders as their protector, and he retired to Dunkirk. The Prince of Orange nevertheless endeavoured to effect a reconciliation with him; for which he had many reasons. If Anjou should be cast off, Henry III. might perhaps reconcile himself with Spain, and the road through France would thus be opened to the troops of Philip II. Queen Elizabeth also urged a reconciliation, and it was dangerous to offend a Sovereign whose aid was of so much importance to the United Provinces. William, too, discovered that while the Duke was writing to him in the tone of injured innocence, he was at the same time treating with Farnese; and he hastened to close with an opponent whose enmity might prove more dangerous even than his friendship. A provisional arrangement was signed with Anjou in March, 1583, but towards the end of June the Duke left Dunkirk never to return.

Meanwhile the Prince of Parma, having been reinforced by Philip with fresh troops released by the termination of the war in Portugal, as well as by the return of the Spanish and Italian veterans, to which the Walloons had been persuaded to consent, had resumed more active operations. From July to November, 1583, the towns of Dixmude, Nieuport, Dunkirk, Zutphen, the Sas, or port of Ghent, Hulst, Axel, Rupelmonde, and Alost fell into the hands of the Spaniards; while the States, for want of friends, were able to make but little resistance. Besides military talent, Farnese displayed a wise and politic moderation and clemency. He endeavoured, as much as possible, to spare the places which he attacked the evils which ordinarily accompany warfare. Rather than take them by storm he preferred to reduce them by blockade, or by diverting the course of streams and rivers, and he offered them the most favourable capitulations that his instructions from Philip would allow. But the inexorable bigotry of the Catholic King would not yield a jot in the matter of religion; and on this head all that the Protestants in the captured towns

Successes
of Farnese.

could obtain was the choice either of renouncing their faith or quitting the country within two years. Farnese pursued his successes in the following year (1584). Between March and August, Ypres, Mechlin, Brussels and Dendermonde were forced to capitulate; while Charles of Croy, Prince of Chimay, son of the Duke of Aerschot, treacherously betrayed Bruges to the Spaniards, in order to obtain the command of a division. Ghent, Sluys, Antwerp and Ostend were now the only southern Netherland towns that remained in the power of the States; and of these Ghent was no longer tenable after the taking of the Sas, by which it was cut off from the sea, and the fall of Dendermonde, which interrupted its communications with Antwerp and Brabant. Ghent was again in the hands of the demagogues, but after the execution of Imbize, it capitulated September 17th.

Death of
Anjou, 1584.

Before this event, both Anjou and the Prince of Orange had ceased to exist. William had succeeded in effecting a new treaty with Anjou, but before it was signed the Duke died at Château-Thierry, June 10th, 1584. Although the character of this Prince rendered him altogether insignificant and contemptible, yet, from his peculiar position, his death had a great effect upon the troubles both in the Netherlands and France. In the latter country, by opening the way for the succession of Henry of Navarre to the Crown, it served to stimulate the proceedings of the Guises and the League. In the Netherlands it caused a dissolution of the government in Flanders and Brabant; which provinces, as they did not belong to the Union of Utrecht, had no longer any head to whom they could look; and thus, at a critical moment, disunion was introduced into the counsels of the States. After the death of Anjou, the Prince of Orange, disgusted at the disunion which prevailed in Brabant and Flanders, returned into Holland after an absence of six years. Convinced in the present circumstances of the necessity of a strong government, he now accepted the dignity, which he had more than once refused, of Sovereign Count of Holland and Zealand; and he declared that he would in future rule those provinces with the same princely power as had been enjoyed by Charles V. and Philip II. But before the arrangements for his installation could be completed he fell by the hand of an assassin.

Murder of
William of
Orange,
1584.

After the abortive attempt on the Prince's life by Jauregui, four more had been made with the same ill-success; making

five within two years, and all with the knowledge of the Spanish government. The sixth was destined to be more successful. William's murderer was one Balthazar Gérard, a native of Villefans, in Burgundy, and, like Jauregui, a religious fanatic. Gérard communicated his design to the Prince of Parma, by whom it was approved; for this cool-headed and cold-hearted tactician admitted assassination in his art of war. Farnese had, indeed, been long in search of a murderer, and had hired several, who, after pocketing his money, shirked the deed. Assuming the name of Francis Guion, and the aspect of a devout Calvinist, Gérard was sent to Delft with despatches to the Prince, and thus obtained entrance into his bedchamber. It was not, however, till two days afterwards that Gérard was ready to perpetrate the diabolical act. On the 10th of July, 1584, as Orange was proceeding up stairs after dinner, Gérard shot him with a pistol loaded with three balls, and William almost instantly expired. The murderer was arrested in attempting to escape, and, before and at his execution, was subjected to tortures, which he endured with an almost superhuman fortitude. A commuted reward was paid to his parents, who received three lordships in Franche-Comté, the property of the murdered Prince, and took their place among the landed aristocracy.¹ William the Silent was fifty-one years of age at the time of his death. He left twelve children, viz.: by his first wife, Anne of Egmont, a son, Philip Count Buren, a prisoner in Spain, and a daughter, Mary, afterwards married to Count Hohenlohe; by his second wife, Anne of Saxony, a son, Prince Maurice of Nassau, and two daughters; by his third wife, Charlotte of Bourbon, six daughters; and by his fourth wife, Louise, daughter of Admiral Coligni, and widow of Téligni, whom he had married in April, 1583, a son, Frederick Henry, afterwards the celebrated Stadholder.

William's place in history is among the greatest benefactors of mankind, the deliverers of their country. His untimely death, indeed, prevented him from fully accomplishing the

His
character.

¹ Philip, however, was not the only King of that age who rewarded assassination with public honours. Charles IX. had sent Maurevert the collar of the Order of St. Michael for assassinating a Protestant leader named Moy. Charles IX.'s *Letter to the Duke of Alençon*, Oct. 10th, 1569, ap. Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. ix. p. 260. And we shall see the Emperor, Ferdinand II., doing the same.

great work of emancipation, but he had put it in such a train as ensured a successful result. Steadfastness, constancy of purpose, denial of self in the service of his country, for which he rendered himself almost a beggar, are the great traits in his character. As a commander he was outshone by other generals of the age; yet he possessed considerable military genius, and the relief of Leyden is a striking instance both of vastness of design and boldness of execution. As a statesman he was unquestionably the first in Europe. With great sagacity and power to penetrate the designs of others, he had the art, so necessary to a politician, of concealing his own. He was possessed of a singular eloquence, and his speeches and state papers are models of their kind. In public he exhibited an exemplary piety, and his enlightened and liberal toleration forms an agreeable contrast with the harsh and narrow bigotry then everywhere displayed, not only in the Roman Catholic, but also in the Protestant communions. A modern historian has well characterized him as "the head of the party of humanity,"¹ at that time a new party in the annals of Europe, but which has since gone on increasing. His company consisted of the burgesses of Delft, and there was no external sign to distinguish him from that multitude.² The local States testified their respect for William's memory by naming his son Maurice, although then only eighteen years of age, Stadholder of Holland, Zealand and Utrecht, and High Admiral. Maurice was a quiet, steady young man, devoted to the study of mathematics, in the hope of one day making that science useful in the art of war; but as he had not of course yet displayed that military talent by which he was afterwards distinguished, Count Hohenlohe was appointed his lieutenant-general, to direct him in his enterprises as deputy of the States.

After the fall of Ghent, Farnese applied himself earnestly to the siege of Antwerp, one of the most memorable recorded in history.³ The citizens were animated in their defence by the valour and talent of Ste. Aldegonde. Farnese at once began to make a bridge, which he carried across the Scheld,

¹ Michelet, *Ligue*, 131.

² Brook's *Life of Sidney*, ch. ii.

³ The best account of the siege is in Meteren. It is also described by Strada and Le Petit. The English reader will find an ample account of it in Motley's *United Netherlands*, vol. i. ch. v.

Maurice
elected
Stadholder.

Siege of
Antwerp,
1585.

below Antwerp, in order to cut off the communication of the city with the sea and with Zealand. From the depth and swiftness of the river, the difficulty of finding the requisite materials, and of transporting them to the selected place in the face of an enemy who was superior on the water, the project was loudly denounced by Farnese's officers as impracticable; yet, in spite of all these difficulties, as the place seemed unapproachable in the usual way, he steadily persevered, and at last succeeded.

During the construction of the bridge, which lasted half a year, the citizens of Antwerp viewed with dismay the progress of a work which was to deprive them of the supplies necessary for their subsistence and defence. At length they adopted a plan suggested by Giambelli, a Mantuan engineer, and resolved to destroy the bridge by means of fire-ships, which seem to have been first used on this occasion. Several such vessels were one night sent down the river with a favourable tide and wind, of which two were charged with 6,000 or 7,000 lbs. of gunpowder each, packed in solid masonry, with various destructive missiles. One of these vessels went ashore before reaching its destination; the other struck upon the bridge, and blew up with terrible effect. Curiosity to behold so novel a spectacle had attracted vast numbers of the Spaniards, who lined the shores as well as the bridge. Of these 800 were killed by the explosion, and by the implements of destruction discharged with the powder; a still greater number were terribly maimed and wounded, and the bridge itself was broken through. Farnese himself was thrown to the earth, and lay for a time insensible. The Zealand fleet, however, was not at hand to bring relief, nor did the besieged follow up their plan with vigour. They allowed Farnese time to repair the damage, and the Spaniards, being now on the alert, either diverted the course of the fire-ships that were subsequently sent against them or suffered them to pass the bridge through openings made for the purpose. In spite of the bridge, however, the beleaguered citizens might still have secured a transit down the river by breaking through the dykes between Antwerp and Lillo, and sailing over the plains thus laid under water, for which purpose it was necessary to obtain possession of the counter-dyke of Kowenstyn; but after a partial success, too quickly abandoned by Hohenlohe and Ste. Aldegonde, they were

defeated in a desperate battle fought upon the dyke. Antwerp was now obliged to capitulate; and as Farnese was anxious to put an end to so long a siege, it obtained more favourable terms than could have been anticipated (August 17th, 1585). The prosperity of this great commercial city received, however, a severe blow from its capture by the Spaniards. A great number of the citizens, as well as of the inhabitants of Brabant and Flanders, removed to Amsterdam and Middleburg, and so much augmented the population, as well as the trade, of those cities, that it became necessary to enlarge their walls. Ste. Aldegonde was vehemently suspected of having sold himself to the Spaniards, and though he lived down this calumny, his public career was now brought to an end.

Elizabeth
helps the
Hollanders,
1585-6.

The Netherlands seemed at this time in imminent danger of being again brought under the dominion of Philip II., a fate, however, from which they were rescued partly by the succours afforded to them by Queen Elizabeth and partly by the impolicy of the Spanish King in diverting his resources in order to attack England and to help the League in France. After the murder of the Prince of Orange, Queen Elizabeth resolved no longer to afford the United Provinces a merely clandestine assistance, but to support them by a public alliance. She once more declined, indeed, the sovereignty; but she agreed to send 6,000 troops into the Netherlands, as securities for the repayment of whose expenses Flushing and Brille, the chief fortresses severally in Walcheren and Voorne, were to be placed in her hands; and she published her motives for this step in a declaration dated at Richmond, October 10th, 1585. They were chiefly grounded on the schemes of Philip II., who, incited by the Pope, was contemplating an invasion of her Kingdom, to the Crown of which he laid claim by virtue of his descent from John of Gaunt. The Queen's reasons for declining the sovereignty of the United Provinces seem to have been the expenditure it would require and the perpetual war which it would probably entail. She was anxious that her refusal should not be ascribed to fear, and at the conclusion of her address to the Dutch envoys, among whom was John of Olden Barneveld, she said: "Finally, gentlemen, I beg you to assure the States that I do not decline the sovereignty of your country from any dread of the King of Spain. For I take God to witness

that I fear him not; and I hope, with the blessing of God, to make such demonstrations against him, that men shall say the Queen of England does not fear the Spaniards.”¹ But Elizabeth in a great measure marred the benefits which the Netherlanders would otherwise have derived from her assistance by making her favourite, the Earl of Leicester, commander of the expedition; a man entirely unfitted for it by his want of military talent, his selfish and intriguing disposition, and his haughty and overbearing temper. Sir Philip Sidney was appointed Governor of Flushing, and on the 10th of December the Earl of Leicester, accompanied by his son-in-law, the Earl of Essex, and a brilliant staff, landed at that port to assume the command. After Leicester’s arrival, the States conferred upon him the dignity of Governor and Captain-General of the United Provinces, which he accepted without consulting the Queen, and he was solemnly inaugurated at the Hague, January 24th, 1586. As Elizabeth had refused the sovereignty, she was highly offended by this step. She threatened to recall him; she signified her will that the dignity conferred upon him should be revoked, and that he should exercise no more power than he had originally been invested with as commander-in-chief in the Netherlands, with a seat in the Council. She sent a special envoy to communicate her displeasure to the States publicly and in the presence of Leicester himself: an impolitic step, by which she not only placed her lieutenant in a humiliating position, and damaged his authority with the Hollanders, but even cast a suspicion upon her own sincerity.

Leicester
chosen
Governor-
General.

Philip II. naturally regarded Elizabeth’s manifesto as a declaration of war, and ordered the seizure of all English vessels, as well as English subjects, in his dominions. The campaign of 1586 was tolerably active. Farnese, now Duke of Parma through the death of his father, successfully laid siege to and captured Grave and Venlo on the Meuse. Norris would have succeeded in relieving the former place had not the commandant prematurely surrendered. In the western provinces Prince Maurice and Sir Philip Sidney surprised Axel, but failed at Gravelines; after which, Sidney joined Leicester at Arnheim. After the capture of Venlo, Parma took Neuss, on the Rhine, and invested Rheinberg; when, in

Campaign
of 1586.

¹ *Hague Archives*, ap. Motley, *United Netherlands*, vol. i. p. 331.

order to occasion a diversion, Leicester, who was not strong enough to cope with the Duke in the open field, seized Duisburg and laid siege to Zutphen. It was during this siege that the gallant and chivalrous Sidney received his death wound, while charging at the head of only 200 horse a body of 1,100 of the enemy's cavalry, who were conveying provisions to the town (September 23rd, 1586). The humanity which he displayed on this occasion towards a wounded soldier, more conspicuous even than his courage, is well known. He died of his wound at Arnheim, October 16th. Parma hastened to Zutphen with all his forces, and Leicester was compelled to raise the siege; but he afterwards contrived to get possession of three forts on the opposite side of the Yssel.

Leicester's
government
unpopular.

Although Leicester was provided only with very inadequate forces, and those, through the niggardliness of Elizabeth, miserably paid, his campaign may be said to have preserved the Northern Netherlands from subjection.¹ But his government was intolerable to the States. He treated the provinces like a conquered country, arbitrarily appointed governors of provinces and towns; laid restrictions upon trade, and tampered with the public money. He made two most injudicious appointments in giving the government of Deventer to Sir William Stanley, an English Catholic, and making Roland York, a man of tainted character, commandant of the principal fort near Zutphen. Nevertheless, when Leicester arrived at the Hague towards the close of the year, the States, unwilling to offend Elizabeth, received him with great honour, though they made a firm but modest remonstrance against his proceedings. Leicester then pretending that affairs required his presence in England, the States insisted on his executing a deed by which he transferred during his absence his authority as Governor to the Council of State; but, with an unworthy artifice, he secretly executed on the same day another deed, by which he not only reserved his power, but even intrenched upon that of the Council. Scarcely had Leicester departed for England, when Deventer and the fort near Zutphen were betrayed to the enemy by Stanley and York (February, 1587). Stanley sent for priests to convert

¹ The Dutch deputies acknowledged to Elizabeth in February, 1587, that Leicester had arrested Parma's victories. *Hague Arch.* ap. Motley, *ibid.* vol. ii. p. 197.

his garrison, consisting of 1,300 English and Irish, in order that they might form a seminary regiment to serve against the Queen. The States, alarmed by these treacheries, decreed that, during Leicester's absence, the supreme authority should be transferred to Prince Maurice; and though in their public declarations they treated the English with forbearance, they addressed letters of warm remonstrance both to Elizabeth and Leicester. The Earl, however, who affected a puritanical behaviour, had a strong party in Holland, especially among the Calvinist ministers; and by this party the charges made against him were impugned. Puzzled by these conflicting representations, Elizabeth despatched Lord Buckhurst into Holland to inquire into their truth; but when that nobleman honestly told the Queen that Leicester was in the wrong, and especially accused him of inciting the people against the States, in order to render his own authority absolute, he was immediately arrested, as if he, and not Leicester, had been the guilty party.

These disputes crippled the power of the States in all the provinces except Holland and Zeeland, where alone Maurice could make his commands obeyed, and were a serious drawback to the aid afforded by England. Ostend and Sluys were now the only Flemish towns of much importance which had not been reduced by the Spaniards, and after a feint on Veluwe the Duke of Parma laid siege to Sluys early in June, 1587. Here he pursued the same plan as at Antwerp, by bridging over the large canal which communicated with the sea. Leicester, who had returned into the Netherlands with a reinforcement, being joined by Maurice, after some feeble and ineffectual attempts to relieve Sluys, retired into Zeeland, and the town, which was bravely defended by the commandant, Arnold de Groenevelt, and by Sir Roger Williams, Sir Francis Vere, and Captain Nicholas Baskerville, after sustaining 17,000 rounds of shot and losing half its garrison, was forced to capitulate (August 4th). During this siege, Geldern was betrayed to the enemy by Colonel Paton, a Scotchman. Leicester, after an unsuccessful and inglorious attempt to reduce Hoogstraaten, went to meet the States assembled at Dort. That body had received secret intelligence of his designs either to usurp an unlimited power or to abandon the provinces altogether. He was suspected of an intention to occupy the chief cities in Holland and Zeeland,

Siege of
Sluys.

and to seize and carry off to England Prince Maurice and Olden Barneveld.¹ Leicester, finding himself the object of suspicion, became accuser in turn, and attributed his misfortunes partly to the States, who had neglected to furnish him with the necessary supplies, and partly to Maurice and Hohenlohe, who had refused to co-operate with him; but perceiving at length that he was unequal to the task he had undertaken, he returned to England in December. Queen Elizabeth transferred to Lord Willoughby the command of the English troops, subject, however, to the control of the States. The latter appointed Prince Maurice commander-in-chief, who, though inferior to his father as a statesman, had already given proofs of great military talent.

The schemes of the Pope and the Catholic King to invade England and dethrone its Queen were at this time growing to maturity. A new Pontiff now occupied the Chair of Peter. Gregory XIII., whose long and insidious enmity against Elizabeth had proved abortive, died April 10th, 1585: a Pope more generally and more favourably known to posterity by the reformation of the solar year and the introduction of the Gregorian calendar,² than by his miserable intrigues. He was succeeded by one of the most extraordinary men that ever wore the tiara. Felix Peretti, the descendant of an Illyrian fugitive, and the son of a vinedresser, was born near Fermo, in the March of Ancona, December 15th, 1521. His early childhood was employed in tending sheep and swine. At the age of twelve his education was undertaken by the Franciscans, into whose order he in due time entered; and such was his devotion to study that, for want of a candle, he was accustomed to read in the church by the light that burnt before the tabernacle. He subsequently studied at the Universities of Bologna and Ferrara, where he exhibited much skill in dialectics, and took his degrees with great honour and applause. Proceeding at length to Rome, Friar Felix attracted much notice by his sermons, and won the favour of the Grand Inquisitor, Ghislieri, afterwards Pope Pius V. That Pontiff, who found in Peretti a congenial nature, made him successively General of the Franciscans, Bishop of Sta. Agata, and in 1570 a Cardinal and

¹ Motley, *United Netherlands*, vol. ii. p. 330.

² This reform was much assisted by Luigi Liglio, a Calabrian, who pointed out the easiest method. Leti, *Vita di Sisto V.* t. i. p. 294.

Archbishop of Fermo, when Peretti returned, clothed in the Roman purple, and with the title of Cardinal Montalto, to the scene of his childhood's humble labours. At the death of Gregory XIII., Cardinal Montalto, then a hale and hearty man of sixty-four, pretending utter feebleness and hopeless ill health, secured by a pious fraud his election to the Papal throne; and immediately convicted himself by throwing aside his crutch, holding himself erect, so as to look a foot taller, and intoning vigorously the *Te Deum*.¹ Sixtus V., for that was the title assumed by Montalto, displayed in his pontificate all the energy and enthusiasm of his patron Ghislieri. Educated like him in a convent, Sixtus V. could but ill distinguish between the practicable and impracticable. His head was filled with the most fantastic visions; plans that could hardly have been feasible during the Rome of the Middle Ages. He dreamt of annihilating the Turkish empire; of conquering Egypt; of opening a passage between the Red Sea and Mediterranean; of penetrating into Syria, bringing the Holy Sepulchre to Italy, and erecting it at Montalto in his native province, already the seat of our Lady of Loreto; which place was raised by Sixtus to a considerable town. His administration was strict and vigorous, nay, even cruel, yet in many respects beneficial. He hanged even venial criminals without remorse, and was zealous in exterminating the banditti that infested the Roman States. He instituted eight new congregations of Cardinals, and fixed the number of the College at seventy. He paid great attention to matters of finance, and accumulated a treasure whilst most other European States were in debt. Although he had no classical taste, and cared not for the remains of antiquity at Rome, he enlarged and adorned the city with new buildings, and again conducted the water to the Roman hills by means of the Aqua Felice, an aqueduct which feeds seven and twenty fountains.

Election
and charac-
ter of
Sixtus V.

Sixtus V. felt a sort of respect for Queen Elizabeth, in whom he recognized some congenial qualities; and he is reported to have said that he and the English Queen should have married and begotten another Alexander. He actually sent her an invitation to return to the bosom of the Church, at which Elizabeth of course only laughed; and Sixtus

Plots
against
Elizabeth.

¹ Leti, *Vita di Sisto*, p. 413 sq.

then said he must devise some means to deprive her of her Kingdom. There was, however, a generosity in his nature which spurned the insidious methods of Gregory. He does not appear to have sanctioned any attempts to murder Elizabeth, though he renewed against her the bull of excommunication; but he openly proclaimed his intention of forwarding any military attack upon her dominions, declared that he would help Philip in such an enterprise, and early in 1587 loudly complained of the dilatoriness of the Spaniards, to whom he represented the advantages of the conquest of England with a view to the recovery of the Netherlands. The zeal of Sixtus was further inflamed by the beheading of the Queen of Scots (February 8th, 1587), the first idea of which seems to have been suggested by the massacre of St. Bartholomew.¹ When the news of Mary's death arrived in Rome, Sixtus furiously declaimed in the Consistory against the English Jezebel, and by way of retaliation created Dr. William Allen a Cardinal. A formal treaty was soon afterwards concluded between Sixtus V. and Philip II., by which the Pope promised the King of Spain a subsidy of a million *scudi*, to be paid as soon as Philip should be in actual possession of some English port. England, after its conquest, was to become a fief of the Church.² Philip, however, with masterly dissimulation, appears to have kept the Pope, as well as everybody else, in the dark, respecting the actual time of the invasion.³

The French King was solicited by Sixtus to join in the enterprise against Elizabeth, but Henry requested time for deliberation. The destruction of Elizabeth was not for his interest. He had, indeed, after the condemnation of Queen Mary, sent De Bellièvre on a special mission publicly to deprecate her execution, yet with secret instructions to solicit Elizabeth for her death, as the common enemy of both through her connection with the Guises.⁴ That family did all they could to forward the Pope's project, and had even

Execution
of Mary
Queen of
Scots, of
1587.

¹ *Letter of Sandys, Bishop of London, to Lord Burghley, Sept. 5th, 1572, in Ellis's Letters, 2nd series, vol. iii. p. 22 sqq.*

² *Gritti's Dispaccio, 27 Giugno, 1587, ap. Ranke, Popes, vol. i. p. 515.*

³ *Motley, United Netherlands, vol. ii. p. 311 sqq.*

⁴ *Bayle, Critique Gén. de l'Hist. du Calvinisme, p. 31.* The fact is, however, denied by other historians.

recently undertaken on their own account a conspiracy against Elizabeth. The French ambassador in London, who belonged to the Guisian faction, had entered into a plot to blow up Elizabeth in her apartment: and his servant, Du Trapps, had solicited William Stafford, brother of the English ambassador at Paris, to join in the deed, promising to procure for him from the Pope a pension of 10,000 crowns; though it does not appear that he was authorized to make such a promise.¹ The detection of this conspiracy in January, 1587, after the Scottish Queen had already been condemned to death for her participation in Babington's plot, seems to have been one of the causes which hastened on her execution. Guise and the League offered the roadstead of Boulogne to Philip for the convenience of his armament; but Henry III. found means to frustrate their intention.²

The execution of the Queen of Scots was an inducement to the King of Spain to strike the blow which he had long been meditating, not only on account of the indignation which the event excited in the breasts of all devoted Papists, but also because Mary's death strengthened the claims which he affected to the English Crown; and he now pretended, as heir of the House of Lancaster, to be the first *Catholic* Prince of the blood-royal of England.³ He had been several years preparing for the enterprise. He had been gradually increasing his forces in the Netherlands; and Leicester stated in November, 1587, that the Duke of Parma had under his command near 40,000 men.⁴ Philip's anxiety had been much increased by the footing which the English had gained in the Netherlands; and both his zeal and his hopes were stimulated by the cries for aid and relief addressed to him by some of the Catholics of England. Parma had obtained a plan of the English coasts, and Philip was pressing for the immediate accomplishment of the invasion. So sanguine were his hopes that he was even discussing the future government of his anticipated conquest; and a scheme was in agitation to marry the Queen of Scots after her deliverance to one of his nephews, and perhaps to the Prince of Parma.⁵

Schemes
and motives
of Philip II.

¹ Murdin, p. 579 sqq.

² Michelet, *La Ligue*, p. 149 sqq.

³ *Letter to a Scotch Nobleman*, in Strype, *Annals*, vol. iii. p. 553.

⁴ *Hardwicke Papers*, vol. i. p. 354.

⁵ His *Letter* to Parma, Dec. 29th, 1585. *Arch. of Simancas*, ap. Motley, *United Netherlands*, vol. i. p. 376 sq.

Philip's resolution was further strengthened by the losses and insults which he suffered from the buccaneering expeditions of Sir Francis Drake and other English navigators. In the latter part of 1585, Drake, accompanied by Martin Frobisher, had plundered St. Iago, one of the Cape de Verd islands, the island of St. Domingo, and Cartagena on the Spanish Main. Sailing thence to Virginia, where a colony had lately been founded by Sir Walter Raleigh, Drake's fleet returned home with a large treasure, bringing also the Virginian colonists, who had begun to despair of their settlement.

Drake's
expedition
to Cadiz.

Philip's
prepara-
tions to
attack
England.

Philip's plot against Protestantism and liberty was extensive and complicated. Its main outline was, to conquer England as a means of subduing the Dutch; to prevent France from opposing his designs, and even to gain the aid of the League in furthering them, by keeping alive the civil war in that country and subsidizing Guise; and at the same time to lull the English into a fatal security by entering into negotiations for a pretended peace. Philip's instructions to Parma for the accomplishment of the last object are worthy of Machiavelli and of himself. Seated at his desk in the Escorial, this plodding conspirator against human freedom wrote to his commander in the Netherlands, that he meant not the negotiations for a peace to have any result; that they were merely a deception and a snare, and that the preparations for invading England were to be pushed on with the greatest vigour.¹ Philip found in Parma an able instrument of his treachery. Negotiations for the pretended peace were opened at Bourbourg near Gravelines, under the mediation of the King of Denmark, and were one of the reasons which induced Elizabeth not to lend that efficient help to the Netherlanders during the year 1587 which she might otherwise have done. Elizabeth's blindness in the following year, when the negotiations were continued at Ostend, was still greater, and, but for fortunate accidents, might have proved the destruction of her realm. After many weeks of fruitless talk, a ceremonious interview of the commissioners took place on the sands near Ostend, in May, which of course had no result; except that the Duke of Parma availed himself of

¹ Philip's *Letter to Parma*, May 13th, 1587. *Arch. de Simancas*, ap. Motley, *United Netherlands*, vol. ii. p. 310.

the opportunity to visit Ostend in disguise, and view the fortifications. He succeeded for two months longer in throwing dust into the eyes of the English Queen, and it was not till towards the middle of July, on the very eve of the appearance of the Armada in the Channel, that she at last awoke from her dream of security.

The preparations in the Spanish and Portuguese ports had been retarded by the attack of Drake on the Spanish coasts in 1587. It was an idea of the Spaniards that it would be easier to conquer England than Holland; but the exploits of Drake must have somewhat shaken them in this opinion. With a fleet of forty ships Drake burnt and destroyed, under the guns of Cadiz and Lisbon, about one hundred vessels laden with provisions and ammunition. He also captured off the Azores a rich Portuguese carrack. The papers found on board this vessel, by the details which they afforded of the value of the trade to the East Indies, and of the manner in which it was conducted, are said to have caused the foundation of the London East India Company. Drake acquainted Elizabeth with the vast preparations making in the Spanish harbours. The sailing of the *Invincible Armada* from Lisbon in May, 1588, its dispersion by a storm, its arrival in the English Channel (July 19th), the attacks upon it by Lord Howard of Effingham and Drake, the alarm and confusion into which it was thrown by means of fire-ships, when at anchor before Calais, its subsequent dispersion, its voyage round Great Britain by the Orkneys, the disastrous storms which it encountered, and finally the return of less than half its number to Spain, are facts so well known to the English reader that they need not to be here repeated. The Spaniards had relied so confidently on the conquest of England that the Armada was crowded with monks of every order destined to re-establish Papistry in that country.

The In-
vincible
Armada.

The first accounts of the discomfiture of the Armada caused Philip, by his own confession, great anxiety, and more than a month elapsed before the return of its shattered remnant to Spain in October at length convinced him of the entire frustration of his hopes. During this eventful crisis the Dutch fleet contributed very materially to the safety of England by blockading the Duke of Parma in the Flemish harbours. This commander had with great labour constructed a fleet

of 340 vessels of various sizes, the materials for which he had to bring from a vast distance; and he had cantoned near the coast an army of 30,000 foot and 5,000 horse ready for embarkation. The Duke of Guise was also prepared to assist the invasion with 12,000 men whom he had collected in Normandy.

Campaign
of 1589.

In the following year (1589), in order to divert the Spanish King from another attack on England, the war was carried into his own dominions. An English armament under the command of Drake and Norris, accompanied by Dom Antonio, sailed for Portugal, in the hope that the population would declare in favour of the Prior of Crato on his landing. With her usual economy Queen Elizabeth conducted this affair on the principle of a joint-stock speculation. She herself ventured six ships and £60,000; the two commanders and their friends £50,000; and the remainder of the expedition was made up by London, the Cinque Ports and other maritime towns. But the enterprise was ill-conducted. The fleet had not been provided with sufficient provisions and ammunition; time was lost by an attack upon Coruña, when the lower town was captured; and though the expedition afterwards effected a landing near Lisbon, mastered the suburbs of that city, and captured sixty Hanse vessels freighted with supplies for a second Armada, it was soon discovered that the people were not inclined to take up Dom Antonio's cause. After great sufferings¹ the expedition returned in June with their booty, leaving behind them an indelible impression of English valour.

Operations
in the
Nether-
lands.

Meanwhile, after the defeat of the Armada, the Duke of Parma had resumed his operations in the Netherlands. In August, 1588, he laid siege to Bergen-op-Zoom; whence he was obliged to withdraw by the great losses he had suffered through a stratagem of two English soldiers, and to put his army into winter-quarters. At the same time he despatched Count Mansfeld with the German portion of his forces to attack Wachterdonck, a town in Upper Gelderland. The siege of this little place, which was bravely defended by the celebrated Colonel Schenck, possesses no interest, except from the fact that bombs were first used in it. They were the invention of a citizen of Venlo. The army of the Duke of

¹ See Birch's *Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. i. p. 58 sq.

Parma had suffered much in these two sieges; its pay was likewise in arrear, for the expenses of the Armada had emptied Philip's treasury; but the spirits of the Duke were somewhat revived by the acquisition of Gertruidenberg in North Brabant, which was betrayed to him by the seditious and discontented garrison. The campaign of 1589 presents little of importance. Farnese, who had fallen into bad health, repaired to Spa for the benefit of the waters, and his army was not in a condition to undertake any considerable enterprise. At the earnest desire of the Elector of Cologne, the Spaniards made an attempt upon Rheinberg, the conduct of which Parma intrusted to the Marquis of Varanbon. But that general was completely defeated in a bloody engagement by Colonel Vere, an English officer of high reputation, who entered Rheinberg and strongly fortified it.

In March, 1590, Prince Maurice obtained possession of Breda by a singular stratagem. One Adrian Vandenberg, a barge owner, who was accustomed to supply the garrison of that place with turf for fuel, undertook to introduce the troops of Maurice in the following manner. He erected a sort of deck, or flooring, at the height of several feet from the bottom of his vessel, thus forming a cabin capable of containing seventy persons, and covered it over carefully with turf. A body of picked men under an officer named Heraugiére were then placed in this cabin, and after many delays, dangers and hair-breadth escapes, the barge entered the town as if laden with its usual freight. It happened that the garrison was at that time much in want of fuel, and a party of them began to unload the vessel with great alacrity, when Vandenberg invited them to drink, and amused them till it grew dark. In the night time the men concealed in the vessel rushed out, overpowered the guard, and admitted Prince Maurice's troops.¹

Successes
of Maurice.

It was in this year that Philip II., much to the regret and disgust of the Duke of Parma, abandoning for the present the war in the Netherlands, directed that general to march with his army to the relief of Paris, besieged by Henry IV. Parma's operations in France are related in another chapter. He intrusted the command of the troops which he left for the defence of the Netherlands to Count Peter Ernest of Mans-

¹ Motley, *United Netherlands*, vol. iii. ch. xxi.

feld, whom he directed to occupy Nymegen. Maurice finding the siege of that place impracticable, took possession of the tract called "the Bettuwe," or Bettaw, supposed to be the ancient Batavia, which lies opposite to the town, on the north bank of the Waal. Across this tract Maurice dug a canal from the Rhine to the Waal, which not only secured the navigation of this river by rendering it unnecessary for vessels to pass the town of Nymegen, but was also of advantage to the surrounding country by lessening the inundations. Out of gratitude for these benefits, the States of Gelderland and Overijssel elected Maurice their Governor. Maurice, in the absence of Parma, subsequently overran Brabant and Flanders, and by occupying some of the smaller frontier towns paved the way for future conquest. In 1591 the Duke of Parma was again obliged to resort to Spa for the benefit of his health, and Maurice pursued the advantages which he had gained in the previous year. In May and June he besieged and captured the towns of Zutphen and Deventer, and again united the county of Zutphen to the Seven Provinces. Colonel Vere, anxious to wipe out the disgrace of Stanley's treachery, highly distinguished himself at the siege of Deventer. Maurice afterwards occupied the district near Antwerp called the Waes, and took Hulst and Nymegen; and after these exploits he returned to the Hague, where he was received with every token of joy and gratitude as the deliverer of the Republic of the Seven Provinces. In this campaign Maurice had displayed some of the highest qualities of a general. By the celerity of his movements he had surprised Farnese, and compelled him to retire from the Waal. The quiet student of the art of war was become one of the most consummate captains of the age.

In 1592, the Duke of Parma having been again ordered into France to relieve Rouen, Maurice captured Steenwyk and Coevorden. He had now not only rescued from the Spaniards the seven northern provinces, with the exception of Groningen, which, however, being so far separated from the other Spanish provinces, must necessarily fall in time, but he had also established himself on the left banks of the Meuse and the Scheld; where he occupied, in the name of the States-General, the Brabant towns of Breda and Bergen-op-Zoom, and the Flemish towns of Ostend, Axel, and Hulst. The career of Alexander Farnese was now drawing to a

Death of
the Duke
of Parma,
1592.

close. After his return from France this year the state of his health became so alarming that he solicited Philip for his dismissal, but died at Arras without obtaining it, December 3rd, 1592, at the age of forty-six. It was, perhaps, only a lucky escape. Philip appears to have been meditating at this time the disgrace, if not the death, of Farnese.¹ Yet it was to his military genius and his conciliating policy that Spain owed her retention of the Southern Netherlands. After his death Philip appointed the Austrian Archduke Ernest, son of the Emperor Maximilian II., to be Governor of the Netherlands; and in the interval before his arrival Count Peter Ernest of Mansfeld was intrusted with the administration.

About Spain itself there is little to relate. In that unhappy country all enterprise had been crushed by bigotry and tyranny, and its domestic affairs afford therefore but few materials for history. Philip, according to popular rumour, had become, in 1578, jealous of the intimacy of his secretary, Antonio Perez, with the Princess of Eboli. It was in the autumn of 1578 that Escovedo, the friend and confidant of Don John of Austria, arrived from the Netherlands to solicit Philip for the return of the Spanish and Italian forces. His designs were opposed by Perez, who used Escovedo to tempt Don John into rash statements which were at once communicated to the King. Philip conceived an implacable resentment against his half-brother; but he was also enraged against Escovedo, as the tool of Don John's inordinate ambition, and he determined to involve both in a common destruction. Perez received the King's written order to effect the assassination of Escovedo; and soon after, by Philip's permission, Perez and the widowed Princess of Eboli were arrested (July, 1579). The King's motives are unknown, and after a short time he seemed inclined to a lenient course, and Perez was even allowed to continue in office, though no longer admitted to the presence of the King. Philip's resentment, however, remained unassuaged, and after a lapse of six years the secretary was accused of malversation, fined heavily and imprisoned. Perez, seeing his destruction resolved on, contrived to escape into Aragon, his native country; and to avoid the pursuit of the King's officers he appealed to

Spain under
Philip II.

¹ Motley, *United Netherlands*, vol. iii. ch. xxviii.

the Justicia,¹ who ordered him to be confined in the state prison; but the Viceroy of Aragon caused it to be broken open and cast Perez into the dungeons of the Inquisition. The Aragonese, enraged at this breach of their constitution, rose and liberated Perez, who, after another narrow escape, succeeded in reaching France, where he gave the King some useful information respecting Philip's designs. Philip seized this opportunity to deprive the Aragonese of their ancient privileges. Alfonso Vargas was ordered to lead to Saragossa a body of troops that had been destined for the invasion of France; the Aragonese, at the instance of Don Juan de la Nuza, the Justicia, flew to arms, but were soon overpowered; Vargas entered Saragossa, November 12th, 1591, sent the Duke de Villa Hermosa and the Count of Aranda, two of the principal leaders of the movement, to Madrid, and, agreeably to the instructions of Philip II., put the Justicia to death without trial. The palace of the Inquisition at Saragossa was now fortified, and filled with a garrison of Castilian troops; the royal scaffolds and the fires of the Inquisition rivalled one another in atrocity; the Cortes were assembled, and compelled to abrogate their *fueros* or national customs and privileges. The Justicia was made removable at the King's pleasure; his tribunal was subjected to that of the King; the power of the Cortes was abridged, and they were forbidden to assemble without a royal mandate; in short, the ancient Aragonese constitution was entirely destroyed.²

¹ The great constitutional powers of the Justicia have been described in the preceding volume, p. 65.

² See Mignet, *Antonio Perez et Philippe II.* ch. v.-vii.; Watson, *Philip II.* vol. iii. p. 216 sqq.

CHAPTER XXVI

CIVIL WARS IN FRANCE

WE now resume the history of France, which in a former chapter has been brought down to the treaty of Nemours in 1585. That alliance between Henry III. and the League struck the King of Navarre and his adherents with consternation. But the approach of danger served only to elicit the great qualities of Henry of Navarre. He succeeded in convincing Marshal Damville, now by the death of his elder brother become Duke of Montmorenci, of the necessity of opposing the League; and that nobleman, who was called the "King of Languedoc," from his great power in that province, of which he was Governor, again united himself with the Huguenots. Condé was likewise prepared to act with vigour, though but too many of the Huguenot leaders, like those of the League, had an eye only to their own interests in the dismemberment of France and the prospect of establishing themselves as independent Princes. The King of Navarre also sought assistance from England and Germany. He received this year from Queen Elizabeth large sums of money, besides repeated offers of an asylum in England, in case he should find himself overmatched; and the German Calvinist Princes promised to assist him with an army. In a Declaration of the 10th of June, 1585, Henry denied the charge of heresy, denounced the use of the names *Papist* and *Huguenot*, which he hoped would be exchanged for those of *Spaniard* and *Frenchman*; and concluded with an offer to put an end to the civil war by a single combat with the Duke of Guise, or of two to two, or of any larger number that might be agreed on. On the 10th of August another Declaration was published in the names of the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé and Montmorenci, in which the Guises were denounced as the

War of
the three
Henries.

authors of all the misfortunes of France, and a war of extermination was declared against the League.¹ On the other hand, preparations were made by the King and the League. The plan of the campaign was regulated by Guise, who himself assumed the command of an army which was to operate in Lorraine, and protect the eastern frontier of the Kingdom against the Germans; his brother, the Duke of Mayenne, was to proceed into the south against the King of Navarre; while Henry III. was to preside over an army of reserve stationed in the centre of the Kingdom on the banks of the Loire. Thus began the eighth religious war, which, from the names of the three leaders, viz., the Kings of France and Navarre and Henry Duke of Guise, has sometimes been called the WAR OF THE THREE HENRIES. Pope Sixtus V. was not like his predecessor, Gregory XIII., a warm supporter of the League. The more extended views of Sixtus embraced the whole European system. He was jealous of the schemes of Philip II.,² and foresaw that if that King succeeded in his designs upon France, Rome itself would only become more subject to his power. He could not, indeed, help fulminating against the King of Navarre and Prince of Condé a bull of excommunication, already prepared by Gregory XIII., which deprived them of the succession to the French Crown; but he refused to help the League either with men or money; nor did the promised contributions of Philip II., who was then engaged in preparing the Armada, arrive very regularly.

Progress of
the war.

In the wars of the League, which are of little importance to the general history of Europe, Henry of Navarre, by his activity and energy, at first outstripped his opponents, and occupied either by himself or his captains the provinces of Guienne, Dauphiné, Saintonge, and Poitou. Condé, with an injudicious ardour, passed the Loire to seize Angers; where his army, though not defeated, melted away before the superior forces of the enemy. Late in the season the Duke of Mayenne entered Guienne at the head of 15,000 men; while the King of Navarre had not more than 4,000 to oppose to him, the rest being scattered in different garrisons. Never-

¹ See these Declarations in the *Mémoires et Corresp.* of Du Plessis Mornai, t. iii. p. 89 sqq. and 159 sqq. (ed. 1824). Cf. Thuanus, lib. ix.

² *Letters* of Duke of Nevers, in his *Mémoires*, pt. i. p. 666 sqq.

theless, Henry made an obstinate defence. The season was unpropitious; Mayenne's army was thinned by an epidemic, and he himself laid up with sickness, so that little was effected. The campaign of 1586 offers nothing of importance. Henry III., who dreaded the success of the League even more than that of the Huguenots, did all he could to protract the war and render it indecisive. Instead of attending to the affairs of his Kingdom or to the progress of the campaign, he frittered away his means at Lyons spending large sums in spite of the public distress, and wasting his time in the most childish amusements, in playing with lap-dogs, apes, and parrots. With the view of arresting the progress of the League, he entered into negotiations with the Huguenots; and in December, 1586, his mother, Catharine, had an interview with the King of Navarre at the Castle of St. Bris, near Cognac. Here Catharine was unsuccessful, and he dismissed her after the interview in which he loaded her with the bitterest reproaches.

In spite of their promises, the German Calvinists at first showed but little zeal to assist their brother Protestants in France, till Beza came and excited them by his sermons. By July, 1587, a large Germany army had assembled on the French frontier, which John Casimir intrusted to the command of Count Dohna, a brave soldier but indifferent general. So dilatory was this force in its movements, that it was three months in marching to Châtillon-sur-Seine. The Germans subsequently advanced as far as La Charité on the Loire; but finding the passage opposed by the King's army, they abandoned the idea of forming a junction with the Huguenots, for which it would have been necessary to traverse the mountainous districts of the interior; and they directed their march towards the plains of Beauce. During these operations the King of Navarre gained a splendid victory over the Duke of Joyeuse and one of the Royal armies at COUSTRAS, a small place in Guienne, near the river Ille, which falls into the Lower Dordogne (October 20th). The victory was achieved solely by Henry's superior military skill, as his forces were much less numerous than those of his opponents. Joyeuse himself had been seized by two Huguenot soldiers, when a third shot him through the head. The Calvinist ministers were astonished at the calmness and moderation of Henry amid the exuberant joy of all around; more acute observers attributed

Battle of
Coustras,
1587.

it to that indifference, almost amounting to apathy, which formed part of his character. Instead of pursuing his victory, he hastened into Béarn, to lay the colours which he had taken at the feet of his mistress, Corisande. Soon afterwards Guise, assisted by the treachery of the commandant, surprised the Germans in Auneau, and killed a great many of them. They then began a retreat, which was harassed by Guise as well as by the infuriated peasantry, who, in revenge for the disorders committed by the German soldiery, murdered all they could lay hands on. Guise pursued them over the frontier, and laid waste the neutral German country of Mömpelgard. The affair of Auneau increased the renown and influence of Guise, while the King was denounced as having placed himself at the head of his army only to negotiate with heretics.

Counsels of
the League.

In January, 1588, Guise assembled the heads of the League at Nanci to deliberate on their future course. It was resolved to seize, with the help of Spain, the territories of the Duke of Bouillon, one of the leaders of the army of invasion, who, after the retreat, had died at Geneva of vexation and fatigue; and to compel his sister, Charlotte de la Marek, the only heir to his dominions, to marry one of the sons of the Duke of Lorraine. The most violent resolutions were adopted. The King was to be required to join the League more publicly; to remove from his councils and dismiss from their offices all persons who should be named as obnoxious to that faction; to publish the Council of Trent; to establish the Holy Inquisition; to place in the hands of certain leaders towns to be named which they might fortify and garrison. All heretics were to be taxed in the fourth or third part of their incomes, while Catholics were to pay only a tenth part. All Huguenot prisoners were to be put to death, unless they immediately recanted, paid down the value of their estates, and agreed to serve three years without pay. Henry III. dared not openly to refuse the demands of the League, and resorted to his usual temporizing policy. The chiefs of the League repaired from Nanci to Soissons to await the King's answer, as well as to be nearer to Paris, which they were forbidden to enter. Meanwhile the Council of Sixteen, as well as Guise's sister, the Dowager Duchess of Montpensier, were organizing the most dangerous conspiracies against Henry. The Duchess laid a plan to seize the King in the Faubourg St. Antoine, on his return from Vincennes, and to carry him off to Soissons; but

Henry heard of it, and came surrounded with a squadron of cavalry.

In spite of the prohibition of the King, Guise, at the invitation of the Sixteen, resolved to come to Paris, which he entered by the Porte St. Martin, May 9th. He was on horseback, with his face muffled up in his cloak; but a young gentleman of his suite playfully removed it, as well as Guise's hat, and the Parisians, when they recognized their beloved leader, crowded round him, with shouts of *Vive Guise!* Handsome, of majestic presence, all contemporary authorities agree that there was in his manner an inexpressible charm, which won for him the hearts of the populace. Guise alighted at the hotel of the Queen-Mother, who had joined in the invitation to him; and in the afternoon they proceeded together to visit the King, who was at that moment debating the question of Guise's assassination, and received him with marks of the greatest anger. At the next interview Guise took care to come well attended, and the most furious recriminations ensued. It was evident that the matter must end in a trial of strength. The King was shut up and fortified in the Louvre, Guise in his hotel; the former defended by the military, the latter by the mob. Paris seemed converted into two hostile camps. On the 12th of May the King caused 4,000 Swiss and the regiment of French guards, who were cantoned in the neighbourhood, to enter Paris. The introduction of the troops enraged the populace, who were still further infuriated by the indiscreet threats of Crillon, *mestre-de-camp*, or colonel, of the French guards; barricades were thrown up in all the streets; each house was converted into a fortress, and even the women provided themselves with weapons. Hence the day obtained the name of the DAY OF THE BARRICADES. The insurrection gained strength through the indecision of the King, who was afraid to order the troops to act; and this want of vigour demoralized the troops themselves, who, when the people at length assumed the offensive, for the most part surrendered without a blow.

Day of the
Barricades.

If in the early part of the day Henry III. had been too slow in acting, Guise, on his part, missed the decisive success which lay within his grasp, had he determined on seizing the King's person. He seemed to forget the maxim cited by the Duke of Parma when he heard of the affair, that he who draws his sword upon his Prince should throw away the

Henry III.
at Chartres.

scabbar. His demands, however, were those of a conqueror, and when Catharine went to treat with him, he required to be appointed Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom; that the King of Navarre, and the Bourbons who adhered to him, should be declared incapable of succeeding to the Crown; and that the King should dismiss his favourites, and even his Gascon body-guard of forty-five. While Guise was engaged in this interview with Catharine, Henry III. left the Louvre on foot, and proceeding to the Nesle gate, crossed the Seine in a skiff. The soldiers of the League fired after him, but he succeeded in escaping, accompanied by about thirty persons. On the heights of Chaillot he turned to bestow his malediction on Paris, upbraiding it for its disloyalty and ingratitude; for he was the first King of France for centuries who had made that city his habitual residence. He swore that he would not return except through a breach in the walls; but he was destined never to revisit it. He directed his course to Chartres, where he was honourably received by the bishop;¹ and he was soon after followed by the Swiss troops and by his regiment of guards. Guise, now master of Paris, converted it into a sort of fanatical Republic of which he was the Dictator. He caused new magistrates to be elected, and new captains more devoted to himself to be appointed to the civic bands; he compelled the Parliament to obedience; seized the Bastille and arsenal, and occupied the towns around Paris, in order to prevent it from being surprised. All offices were bestowed upon his creatures, who ruled supreme in the capital till 1594.

Edict of
Union.

Amid the universal defection, Lyons and Tours offered the King an asylum, but he preferred to go to Rouen, although most of the inhabitants were partisans of the League. Here he amused himself with plays, water parties, and other entertainments, while his mother negotiated with the rebels. The terms demanded by the League were embodied in an edict, published July 21st, 1588, called the **EDICT OF UNION**. In some secret articles Henry III. pledged himself to a war of extermination against the heretics, and engaged his subjects as well as himself to swear that they would never obey any heretic Prince. He promised to accept the decrees of Trent; he granted a complete amnesty for all that had passed; pro-

¹ Nicholas de Thou, one of the uncles of the historian.

longed for six years the term appointed for the restitution of the cautionary towns held by the chiefs of the League, and assigned to them three additional places, Orleans, Bourges, and Montreuil-sur-Mer. Guise was to be generalissimo, but he was too cautious to insert any article to that effect in the treaty.¹ The King was also obliged to consent to an assembly of the States-General at Blois, by means of which Guise designed to legalize his usurpations and to hold Henry in tutelage. The King, however, refused to return to Paris, although the invitation of the Parliament and other public bodies was seconded by his mother. The terror of Philip's threatened invasion of England had contributed not a little to induce Henry to sign the Edict of Union.

The King opened the meeting of the States-General at Blois in October, with an eloquent speech, composed for him, it is said, by Du Perron, in which he denounced the unmeasured ambition of some of his subjects. These passages, however, Guise and his party forced him to suppress in the printed copy. The haughtiness of Guise's manners added venom to the wounds which he inflicted on the King's pride. Alarming reports of the ambitious plans of Guise—that he meant to obtain from the States the Constable's sword, to carry the King to Paris, and keep him there in subjection—determined Henry to deliver himself by murdering him. It was no easy enterprise. As Grand-Master, Guise held the keys of the Castle of Blois; he was always accompanied by a numerous suite, and the guard within the castle could not be increased without his knowledge. The King spoke of the matter to Crillon, the colonel of his French guard, who declined to connect himself with it, alleging that he was a soldier and no hangman. But Henry found an instrument in Loignac, first gentleman of his chamber. When Loignac proposed the enterprise to the *Taillagambi*, or King's Gascon body-guard, of which he was captain, they joyfully undertook it, regarding Guise as their enemy from his endeavours to procure their dismissal. The King gave out that he intended to pass Christmas in retirement at Notre Dame de Cléry, and to expedite business before his departure a council was summoned to assemble very early in the morning of the

The States
at Blois.

¹ The demands of the "Princes unis" and the Edict are in the *Mém. de la Ligue*, t. ii. p. 365 sqq.

Assassina-
tion of
Guise.

23rd of December. Guise had received some warnings, but his contempt for the King's cowardice lulled him into a false security, and both he and the Cardinal his brother attended. When the council was assembled, Guise received a message that the King wished to see him in his bed-chamber. In order to reach this apartment, it was necessary to pass through an ante-chamber where Loignac and nine of the most determined of the *Taillagambi* were posted, while the rest had been stationed in the lobbies and staircases to render escape impossible. Guise had passed through the ante-chamber, and was in the act of lifting the tapestry to enter the King's apartment, when he was poignarded by Montséri, one of the guard; three or four others then seized him, and prevented him from drawing his sword. With a desperate effort, Guise, who was a powerful man, succeeded in throwing them off, and advanced towards Loignac, at the other end of the room. The noise of the scuffle alarmed the Council, and Pierre d'Espinac, Archbishop of Lyons, hastened to the door of the apartment, which he could not open, but he heard Guise exclaim, "Oh, gentlemen! What treachery!" and after some blows, a heavy fall and the cry, "Oh, God! mercy!" Loignac had struck Guise with the scabbard of his sword, and the Duke, after receiving several other wounds, fell covered with his blood. The King, who had hid himself in an inner cabinet, as soon as he was sure that Guise was despatched, came out with drawn sword, exclaiming, "There are no longer two of us! I am King at last!" and, while he uttered these words, he gave the still panting body a kick. Sixteen years before Guise himself had so kicked the body of the expiring Admiral! Thus by a retributive justice the authors of the St. Bartholomew were falling by each other's hands.

Death of
Catharine
de' Medici,
1589.

The Dowager-Duchess of Nemours, mother of the Duke of Guise, the Cardinal his brother, his nearest kinsfolk and principal adherents, including the Cardinal of Bourbon, were seized and imprisoned. The fate of the Cardinal of Guise occasioned some debate. It was no light matter for a superstitious King to put to death a Prince of the Church; the assassins of the Duke declined the sacrilegious office; some soldiers of the guard, were, however found to undertake it, and on the morrow the Cardinal met with the same fate as his brother. In an apartment directly under that in which

Henry of Guise was murdered, Catharine de' Medici lay stretched on her death-bed. The noise had alarmed her, and when she learnt the cause of it from the lips of the King himself she betrayed an anxiety which probably hastened her end. She expired January 5th, 1589, having nearly attained the age of seventy. At once credulous and sceptical, Catharine belonged to a numerous class who in that age placed more confidence in the powers of witchcraft than in the precepts of morality and religion. She was a firm believer in astrology, and thought herself endowed with second sight.¹ She had, nevertheless, that native taste for art, and especially architecture, which distinguishes the Italians, but her influence in France can be regarded only as an unmitigated evil.

By the murder of his arch-enemy, Henry III. fancied that he had accomplished all his objects. Instead of preparing to meet the storm which his act was sure to raise, he soon fell into his accustomed listlessness; and he even released some of the more refractory members of the States whom he had imprisoned, especially Brissac and Bois-Dauphin, the generals of the barricades. The States themselves he dismissed in the middle of January. Meanwhile the Parisians, after recovering from the first shock occasioned by the news of Guise's murder, displayed the most violent hostility. On Christmas Day they assembled at the Hôtel de Ville, elected the Duke of Aumale Governor of Paris, and levied an army to relieve Orleans, to which the King had laid siege on the Duke of Guise refusing to surrender it. They were encouraged by Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, who left the Court without taking leave, and repaired to Paris as the centre of papistry and jesuitism. Thither also came Mayenne, Guise's brother, whom the King had in vain attempted to conciliate; a heavy man, both in mind and body, but the best of the Guises. Slow, yet haughty, and excitable when his pride was touched, he had poignarded with his own hand a son of the Chancellor Birago for having presumed to obtain from his daughter a promise of marriage.² The pulpits of Paris resounded against the King and the whole race of Valois. The King's name was struck out of the public prayers,

Rage of the
Parisians.

¹ There is a curious description of her talisman in Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. ix. p. 386 note.

² Michelet, *La Ligue*, p. 314.

and those of the Christian Princes in arms for the Lord and for the public safety were substituted for it. Absurd and fanatical processions were formed, in one of which all the children of Paris repaired to the abbey of Ste. Geneviève with torches, which, on reaching the porch, they turned down and extinguished, exclaiming, "So perish the House of Valois!" These processions, which sometimes occasioned the grossest immorality, the clergy themselves were at length obliged to forbid. The doctors of the Sorbonne pronounced the people released from their allegiance to Henry III., and authorized them to take up arms against him. Achille de Harlai and Augustin de Thou, Presidents of the Parliament of Paris, having harangued that body against the demagogues, the Council of Sixteen caused the whole of the members to be arrested during one of their sittings, and to be conducted, clad in their robes, to the Bastille, amid the hootings of the populace. The ultra-Catholic members, however, who had accompanied their colleagues out of an *esprit de corps*, were afterwards dismissed; and this rump, as it may be called, assembling under the conduct of President Brisson, decreed whatever the Sixteen dictated. The latter body named a new board, called the Council-General of the Union, consisting of forty members, by whom the Duke of Mayenne was appointed Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom. On the other hand, Henry III. assembled round him at Tours such members of the different chambers of the Parliament of Paris as remained faithful to him, and declared null and void all the acts of the pseudo-Parliament and other courts of judicature at Paris. The formation of the Council of the Union and the appointment of Mayenne as Lieutenant-General gave a great impulse to the League. The people were seized with republican ideas, not only in the cities but also in the rural districts; and they imagined that by joining the Union they should be able to live after the manner of the Swiss, and be exempt from all taxes except the imposts payable to their immediate lords.

Mayenne
heads the
League.

Henry III.
joins the
Huguenots.

Meanwhile Henry of Navarre, now sole leader of the Huguenots—for his cousin, the Prince of Condé, had died, not without suspicion of poison, in the spring of 1588—had been named protector of the Evangelical Church by a general synod of the Protestants held at La Rochelle towards the close of that year. After the death of Guise, the King of

Navarre surprised Niort, and occupied successively St. Mai-xent, Maillezais, Thouars, Loudun, Argenton, and Châtelleraut. From the last-named town he issued, on the 4th of March, an excellent manifesto, calling on the three Estates of the Realm to deliberate and save the Kingdom by counsels of moderation. Henry III., who now possessed only a few towns upon the Loire, though important in a military point of view from their position, namely, Beaugenci, Blois, Amboise, Tours, and Saumur, was lost in anxiety and hesitation about the consequences of his crime, and was thinking at the same time of negotiating with the League and with the King of Navarre. But the Duke of Mayenne, with whom he treated through the Legate Morosini, having repulsed his advances, he effected, through the mediation of his natural sister, the Dowager-Duchess of Montmorenci, a twelvemonth's truce with the King of Navarre¹ (April 3rd). Still, however, Henry III. did not abandon all hope of an alliance with Mayenne, and kept the truce secret a fortnight; till the advance of Mayenne upon Tours, and the news from Rome that the Pope refused to absolve the King from the murder of the Cardinal of Guise, drove him into the arms of the Huguenots. Sixtus V. could have overlooked the assassination of the Duke of Guise as an act of political necessity; but he was compelled, though no partisan of the Guises, to visit with his indignation the murder of a Prince of the Church. He reproached Morosini with negotiating for the King instead of immediately excommunicating him, and cited Henry III. to appear personally at Rome and answer for his crime. On the 30th April, 1589, the two Henries cemented their new alliance by an interview at Plessis-lès-Tours; and Henry III. agreed to place Saumur in the hands of his brother-in-law to serve as a *tête-de-pont* on the Loire. Before their forces could be united, Mayenne assaulted Tours, and got possession of the suburb of St. Symphorien; which, however, he was compelled to abandon on the approach of the King of Navarre.

Although the League had gained some advantages at Senlis and other places, the two Kings resolved to march with their united forces upon Paris, and lay siege to that capital. At St. Cloud, where they arrived towards the end of July,

Henry III.
murdered
by Clément,
1589.

¹ The compact is in the *Mém.* of Du Plessis Mornai (t. i. p. 896 sqq. 4to ed.), who, with Rosni, afterwards the celebrated Duke of Sully, was one of the negotiators.

they were joined by numerous volunteers, as well as by some Swiss and German troops, so that their army numbered between 30,000 and 40,000 men. Paris was struck with alarm: the fanaticism of the populace rose to the highest pitch; the priests and Jesuits openly declared that only the murder of one or both Kings could save religion. Henry III. having been excommunicated by the Pope, the zealous Catholics regarded him as an outcast; the Papal *Monitorium*, published in France towards the end of June, contained a prophecy that he would perish like Saul. In this state of the public mind, Jacques Clément, a Dominican friar, twenty-two years of age, half simpleton, half fanatic, fired by the sermons which he heard, and by the not undeserved reproaches which were everywhere uttered against the King, as well as encouraged by the exhortations of his prior, of the Duke of Aumale, and especially (so it is said) of the Duchess of Montpensier, resolved to gain Paradise by the assassination of Henry III. He sought the Royal camp, and on pretence of bringing letters from President de Harlai, and the Count of Brienne, obtained a private audience of the King. Henry stretching out his hand to receive the letters, Clément stabbed him with a knife which he had hidden under his frock. The King pulled out the weapon, exclaiming, "The wicked monk has killed me!" and inflicted with it a wound on the assassin's head, who was immediately despatched by the surrounding guards.

Henry IV.
agrees to be
instructed.

The King's wound was not at first thought mortal; but unfavourable symptoms soon appeared, and he died early the following morning (August 2nd, 1589), at the age of nearly thirty-eight. With him was extinguished the house of Valois, which had occupied the throne of France more than two centuries and a half.¹ As he lay at the point of death,

¹ Philip VI., the first King of the House of VALOIS, ascended the throne in 1328, on the death of Charles IV., or the Fair, the last male of the direct Capetian line, to whom he was cousin-german. Both Charles IV. and Philip VI. were descended from the second son of St. Louis (Louis IX.), while the BOURBONS were descended from his sixth son. Charles IV. had left several nieces; but the exclusion of females from the throne of France, by what is called the Salic law—though in fact that law says nothing about *royal* succession—had been settled by the French notables after the death of Louis X. in 1316; which, as male heirs had never been wanting, was the first time there had been occasion to consider the question.

Henry III. transferred the command of his forces to the King of Navarre; and exhorted the Catholic nobles who surrounded his bed to submit to that Prince as their lawful Sovereign; trusting that he would not long delay his return to the orthodox faith. The Catholic royalists demanded an immediate pledge to that effect; but HENRY IV.—for the King of Navarre now assumed that title as King of France—replied that none but a man who had no belief at all could so suddenly change; adding, however, that he had always expressed his readiness to be instructed, and that he should be willing to conform to the decisions of a General Council.¹ It was already plain that he awaited only a convenient pretext for changing his religion. Marshal Biron, the best soldier and most able politician among the Catholic royalists, having obtained from Henry the promise of the County of Périgord, was very instrumental in inducing his party to come to terms with him. On the 4th of August the Bourbon King signed a declaration, by which he promised to maintain the Roman Catholic and apostolic religion; to submit to the instruction of a General or National Council to be called within six months; to allow the exercise of no other religion but the Roman Catholic, except in those towns and places where another was already established; to bestow, with the preceding exception, all offices that might become vacant only on Catholics; to maintain the present officers of the Crown in their dignities and charges, and to use every endeavour to punish the murder of the late King. At the bottom of this declaration the royalist leaders signed an engagement recognizing Henry of Navarre as King of France.² There were, however, many defections from Henry's standard among the royalist nobles, several of whom hastened into the provinces to try what they could secure in the general anarchy which they expected to ensue; while there were also some desertions among the Huguenots, partly from disappointment at

¹ One of the principal authorities for this period is the *Mémoires* of Sully (*Economies Royales*), a book better in substance than composition. It was written by Sully's secretaries, who sometimes flatteringly attribute to him things in which he had no concern. See also the *Mémoires* of Agrippa d'Aubigné and of Du Plessis Mornai, which are not in the general collection. Palma Cayet, in his *Chronologie Novenaire*, flatters Henry IV. too much, whose preceptor he had been.

² The convention is in Isambert, *Recueil*, etc. t. xv. p. 3 sqq.

obtaining nothing, and partly from disgust at the King's promise to let himself be "instructed."

The action
of the
League.

Among the League there was a great variety of opinions as to who should succeed the murdered Sovereign; though a large majority was in favour of the Cardinal of Bourbon, still a prisoner at Tours, who had been already recognized by the States-General as heir to the throne. The Duke of Mayenne was too prudent to attempt to seize the prize, though exhorted to do so by his sister, the Duchess of Montpensier. At Rome and Madrid the recognition of a heretic Sovereign was of course out of the question. Mendoza, the Spanish envoy, joined Mayenne in declaring for the Cardinal of Bourbon; and the resolution was approved by the Council of the Union, as well as by Philip II. It was not, however, till November that the Cardinal was proclaimed by the Parliament of Paris, under the title of Charles X. In that capital the news of Henry III.'s death had been received with the wildest demonstrations of joy. The praises of Jacques Clément were sounded in the pulpits and sung in the streets; he was invoked as a saint and martyr, and images of him were erected not only in private houses but even in churches.

The Pope
sanctions
the regi-
cide.

The immediate prospect of seeing an heretical King on the throne of France somewhat modified the views of Pope Sixtus V. with regard to the League. He sanctioned the regicide in full Consistory; profanely comparing Jacques Clément with Judith and Eleazer; and as Morosini had shown himself too lukewarm and compliant, towards the end of the year another Legate, Gaetano, was sent into France, and intrusted with a sum of money to be laid out for the benefit of the League. Gaetano was instructed to insist on the introduction of the Inquisition and the abolishment of the privileges of the Gallican Church; but he threw himself more into the cause of the democratic portion of the League, and of the King of Spain, than the Pontiff wished or his instructions authorized. Sixtus had not shaken off his suspicions of Philip. He was inclined to the cause of the Catholic Bourbons; nay, he did not exclude the possibility of the conversion of Henry IV. himself, whom he thought it would be very difficult to conquer.²

¹ Autobiography of Cardinal Gaetano, ap. Ranke, *Popes*, vol. i. p. 523.

² *Discorso dato al Cardinale Gaetano*, De Bouillé, *Hist. des Guises*, t. iii. p. 421.

In spite of the denunciations of Rome, a considerable number of French Catholics, who did not approve the Jesuit views about the rights of kings, had, as we have seen, remained faithful to Henry III. and now transferred their allegiance to Henry IV. This party placed civil rights before ecclesiastical pretensions, preferred toleration and humanity to bigotry and persecution, and the national unity of France to the dominion of foreigners. The majority, however, was against the claims of Henry IV. Everything depended on the personal character of the new King. The Catholics of his party suspected him because he was not yet converted, while the Huguenots distrusted him from his holding out a prospect of his conversion. Thus threatened with a fall between two parties, Henry, in spite of his faults, saved himself, where, perhaps, a more perfect character would have failed. His countrymen saw in him the reflection of their own virtues as well as of their own defects; they admired him because he was thoroughly French, and were irresistibly carried away by the charm of his gaiety, good-humour, and brilliant courage. Never was there a more perfect model of the Gascon soldier. Small, but strongly and compactly built, with prominent features, vivacious eyes, a beard already mixed with grey, his coat worn by the cuirass and hardly covered by a little red mantle, his white plume always seen in the post of honour and danger, he presented in his whole appearance and deportment the most striking contrast to the elegant but effeminate Henry whom he succeeded. Of preceding Kings he perhaps bore most resemblance to Francis I.; but was infinitely his superior both in heart and intellect.

Henry IV.
joined by
many
Roman
Catholics.

By the defections already mentioned the Royal army had been reduced by half; it was impossible to continue the siege of Paris, and Henry, dividing his forces into three corps, sent one under Marshal d'Aumont, to occupy Champagne, another under the Duke of Longueville into Picardy to make head against a threatened invasion of the Spaniards in the Low Countries, whilst he himself at the head of the third, and largest, of about 10,000 men, marched into Normandy, and encamped within a league of Rouen to wait the expected English succours. The Duke of Mayenne, after an interview with the Duke of Parma in the Netherlands, from whom he obtained a few reinforcements, proceeded into Normandy to attack Henry. He was, however, so slow in his movements

Elizabeth
helps
Henry IV.

that he did not arrive till the middle of September, and meanwhile the King, who was assisted by Marshal Biron, had taken up a naturally strong position at Arques, near Dieppe, which he rendered almost impregnable by intrenchments. Dieppe itself, most important as affording him a harbour in the English Channel, had been placed in his hands by the commandant. Mayenne, whose forces were two or three times more numerous than Henry's, ventured to assail the intrenched camp at Arques, but was repulsed with great loss after a bloody battle which lasted all day (September 21st). Mayenne, however, remained before Dieppe till the beginning of October, when learning that D'Aumont and Longueville were advancing, and that Henry had been joined by upwards of 5,000 English and Scots, the general of the League thought it prudent to retreat into Picardy, to await reinforcements from the Netherlands. At the same time Queen Elizabeth sent a sum of £22,000 in gold to Henry IV., who protested that he had never before beheld so much money.¹

Philip II.'s
designs on
France.

Strengthened by these reinforcements, as well as by others which he received from the French nobility, Henry resolved to march upon Paris, and appeared before that capital November 1st. The southern suburbs were taken by assault, and upwards of 1,000 Parisians either slain or captured. Henry, however, could not penetrate into the city, and on the appearance of Mayenne he was compelled to retreat to Tours. Here he received from the Signoria of Venice, through their ambassador Mocenigo, letters congratulating him on his accession. In the year 1582 a revolution had taken place in the government of Venice, and the younger members of the Senate had succeeded in breaking up the monopoly of power held by a few aged patricians, who had always been devoted to Spain and the Church. The Venetians in general regarded the independence of France as essential to the balance of European power. Their recognition of Henry was suggested by the famous Fra Paolo Sarpi, the historian of the Council of Trent, the soul of the anti-Papal and anti-Spanish party at Venice; and it was the more gratifying to Henry as the first

¹ Camden, *Elizabeth*, vol. ii. p. 23 (ed. 1629). Henry IV. is said to have been so poor that he was not able to put on mourning for his predecessor, except by cutting down the violet suit of Henry III., who happened himself to be in mourning at the time of his death! Michelet, *La Ligue*, p. 352.

public recognition of his title by any foreign Power. The Turkish Sultan Amurath III. also offered him assistance, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Duke of Mantua gave him secret assurances of friendship. Henry carried on the war during the winter, gaining many towns and even whole districts and provinces. Stupefied by his success, the councils of the League were agitated by grave debates. Mayenne, who wanted to reign under the name of the captive Cardinal-King, wished, indeed, for the support of Spain, though in money, not in men. But Philip II. had no idea of being the mere banker of the League; he thought the time had come when he should gather the fruits of all his sacrifices; he had formed an extravagant plan of procuring the abolition of the Salic law in favour of his eldest daughter by Elizabeth of France, the infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia; and meanwhile, during the captivity of the shadow-King Charles X., he wanted to be declared Protector of France. Engrossed by this chimerical scheme he sacrificed the substance for the shadow, and against the advice of his best counsellors, and to the great chagrin of the Duke of Parma, diverted towards France those resources which might have secured the subjugation of the Netherlands. The views of Philip were chiefly supported by the lower French clergy, the monks and preaching friars, many of whom he retained in his pay. These gained for him the greater part of the Sixteen, and consequently the mob; thus forming a strange alliance between a democratic faction and a Prince who was the very incarnation of despotism! Mayenne, however, was supported by the principal nobility of the League in resisting Philip's design of a protectorate; and he weakened that Sovereign's influence in France by procuring the suppression of the Council of the Union.

In the spring of 1590 Mayenne, who had recruited his army during the winter and gained some small successes, determined to attack Henry, who had taken up a position near Dreux. The armies met on the plain of Ivry (March 14th). Before the engagement, Henry, bareheaded and with upturned eyes, after the fashion of the Huguenots, offered up a short prayer in front of his army; then putting on his helmet, which was adorned with a magnificent white plume, he said: "Comrades, God is for us! Behold his enemies and ours! At them! I am your King. Should you miss your colours, rally

Battle of
Ivry, 1590.

round my white plume ; you will find it in the path of glory and honour !” Henry had arranged his plan of battle with all the coolness and tact of a consummate general. He charged into the thickest of the fight, and for a quarter of an hour nobody knew what was become of him. Emboldened by his words and example, his troops fought with irresistible fury. Nearly half Mayenne’s cavalry was cut to pieces, his infantry killed, taken, or dispersed, five guns and upwards of one hundred standards captured. The general of the League escaped almost alone to Mantes ; in the neighbourhood of which place, in the castle of his confidential friend and follower Rosni, afterwards the celebrated Duke of Sully, Henry passed the night. Mayenne hastened to Paris, which he found in a state of the greatest alarm. The army of the League was annihilated, and many of its chiefs counselled immediate negotiations. But the Sorbonne, and still more the Legate Gaetano, animated the Parisians to resist to the death. It was peculiarly a war of the clergy, and they showed themselves on this occasion literally the Church militant. A regiment was formed of 1,300 priests and monks, chiefly of the four mendicant orders, who defiled before the Legate, bearing crucifixes for standards, and singing hymns accompanied with salvos of musquetry.

Death of
Cardinal
Bourbon.

Henry IV. lost the fruits of his victory by delay. Many causes have been assigned for this fatal procrastination ; the real one was, probably, a new amour. Henry had conceived a passion for the lady of La Roche-Guyon, a place in the neighbourhood of Mantes, and for a time Corisande was forgotten. It was not till the 7th of May that he appeared before Paris. La Noue made a desperate assault on the Faubourgs St. Martin and St. Denis, but was repulsed. Just at this time (May 9) the Cardinal of Bourbon died at the Castle of Fontenay-le-Comte, at the age of sixty-seven. The League, however, substituted no other King, and money bearing the superscription of Charles X. continued to be struck by that faction so late as 1595.

Henry IV.
invests
Paris.

Henry, who wished to take Paris by capitulation rather than by assault, converted the siege into a blockade, and, as he was in possession of most of the neighbouring towns, as well as of the course of the Seine and Marne, he completely deprived the city of its supplies. The famine became almost unbearable ; worse even than at the siege of Paris by the

Germans in our own days. It is said that mothers fed upon their own children; that the bones of exhumed corpses were ground to powder and used for bread.¹ Even the wealthier classes could only support life with the greatest possible difficulty: yet the priests and monks urged the fanatical populace to the most desperate resistance; and Henry, disappointed in his hope of a speedy surrender, delivered, on the night of July 24th, simultaneous assaults on the ten suburbs, which were all captured. The Parisians being now shut up, within their walls, the famine became still more intolerable, and shouts arose of "Bread or Peace!" The humanity of Henry, however, caused him to let many persons pass the lines; his captains also sold passports, at which he was obliged to connive, as he could give them no pay. Paris seemed to lie within his grasp, yet he could not make up his mind to order an assault. He dreaded the odium that he should incur by storming his capital, as well as the probable demoralization of his army after the capture; nor could he persuade himself that the Duke of Parma would quit the Netherlands to come to its relief. Philip II., however, was infatuated with his present designs on France. Farnese was ordered to relieve Paris, and on August 1st, the inhabitants received a message to that effect, but with the addition that the Spanish army could not arrive for a fortnight—another fortnight of starvation! The term of their relief, however, was destined to be postponed twice that period. The Duke of Parma advanced with the greatest caution and deliberation. He brought with him a large park of artillery and a vast store of ammunition and provisions in heavy waggons; and these served as a protection to his camp, which he regularly pitched and fortified every night. It was the 23rd August before he joined Mayenne, who was at Meaux with some 10,000 men; and their united army of about 23,000 men was rather superior to that of the King, who was consequently compelled to abandon the blockade of Paris; and on the night of the 29th August he withdrew his troops from the suburbs. Henry endeavoured to provoke an engagement with the Duke of Parma, who had taken up a strong position near Lagny, and having thus command of the Seine, despatched provisions to Paris. But though the two armies remained five days in

Parma
relieves
Paris.

¹ *Mémoires* of L'Estoile, an eye-witness.

presence, Farnese was too wary to abandon his advantage; and Henry, completely out-generalled, after a final unsuccessful attempt on the southern quarter of Paris in the night of September 9th, was compelled to withdraw. Early in November, after a visit to Paris, the Duke of Parma returned into the Netherlands, followed by Henry with 3,000 horse, who harassed the Spanish army till it had crossed the frontier. It was during this expedition that Henry became acquainted with the celebrated Gabrielle d'Estrées, then about nineteen years of age.

Death of
Pope
Sixtus V.,
1590.

Pope Sixtus V. died just before the blockade of Paris was raised (August 27th). Such are the extraordinary revolutions of human opinion, that Henry IV., whom he had solemnly excommunicated, was perhaps almost the only person who lamented his death. In spite of the Spanish Court, Sixtus had given a favourable reception to M. de Luxembourg, whom the Catholic royalists had despatched to Rome; and the Pontiff was so touched by Luxembourg's description of Henry's good qualities that he expressed regret at having excommunicated him. In March, 1590, the Spanish envoy went to the Pope's apartments, and kneeling down before him, begged permission to execute the commands of his master. He then formally protested against the Pontiff's conduct, and threatened unless he declared the King of Navarre incapable of succeeding to the French Crown, that his Catholic Majesty would throw off his allegiance to the Holy See. These threats seem to have shaken Sixtus, who dismissed M. de Luxembourg under pretence of a pilgrimage to Loreto. In July negotiations were begun for a new treaty between the Pope and Spain; yet at this very time there was a Huguenot agent at Rome; and in this state of irresolution, at variance with Philip II., hated by the League, and suspected by the Jesuits and the Inquisition, Sixtus V. expired. The Romans overthrew the statues they had voted to him, and decreed that none should be again erected to any living Pope.

Gregory
XIV. sup-
ports the
League.

Urban VII. (Cardinal Castagna), who succeeded to the tiara, lived only twelve days after his election. The Conclave then chose Cardinal Sfondrati (December 5th, 1590), who assumed the title of Gregory XIV. He was a devout monk, a born subject of Philip II., and devoted to the Spanish cause; and he therefore immediately declared himself in favour of the League, and wrote to the Council of Sixteen,

promising them help in men and money.¹ He renewed the excommunication of Henry IV.; a step which perplexed many of Henry's Catholic followers, and led to the formation of what was called the "Third Party;" which remained faithful to him only in the trust that he would return to the Romish Church, while the rest of the Catholic royalists pressed for his immediate recantation. This party eventually took up the cause of the Cardinal of Vendôme, who, after the death of his uncle, the pretender Charles X., had assumed the title of Cardinal of Bourbon. Gregory remitted to the Parisians 15,000 *scudi* monthly, and intrusted to his nephew, Ercole Sfondrati, Duke of Montemarciano, the command of an army which was to assemble at Milan for the invasion of France. That Kingdom seemed fast sinking into anarchy. The Governors of provinces acted like sovereign Princes; ambitious men everywhere sprung up who wished to render themselves independent of the King. Of these the most important was the Duke of Mercœur, Governor of Brittany, who sought to possess himself of that duchy in right of his wife, Mary of Luxembourg, daughter of the Duke of Penthievre; and Philip II. supported him with some troops. Meanwhile, the main object of Henry IV. was to obtain possession of the capital; and with that view he designed to keep up the war around Paris until it should be reduced. In January, 1591, he made an attempt to surprise the Faubourg St. Honoré, but the plan was frustrated. This affair afforded the Spanish ambassador and the Council of Sixteen a pretext for insisting on the reception of a Spanish garrison into Paris; Mayenne reluctantly consented, and, on the 12th of February, 4,000 Spaniards and Neapolitans entered the French capital.

In answer to Gregory XIV.'s bulls of excommunication, which were published in France by the Legate Landriano towards the end of May, 1591, Henry appealed to the Royalist Parliament of Paris, now divided into two branches, one of which sat at Chalon and the other at Tours. These bodies ordered the bulls to be burnt by the hangman, declared all ecclesiastics who recognized them guilty of treason, cited the Legate to appear before them, and, on his failing to do so, issued an order for his apprehension. Henry, before an assembly of the clergy at Rheims, had made a fresh promise

The Sixteen
call in
Philip II.

¹ Cayet, *Chron. Noven.* t. iii. p. 217 (Petitot, t. xl.).

to receive instruction ; while Gregory's attacks on the Gallican Church had secured the King some additional adherents among the clergy and jurists. Meanwhile the Viscount of Turenne had been despatched into Germany, where he succeeded in raising an army of about 10,000 foot and 5,000 horse. In September, on the news of the approach of this force, Henry, who in the earlier part of the year had taken Chartres and Noyon, and had also received reinforcements of between 4,000 and 5,000 English under the Earl of Essex, proceeded with his cavalry to meet the Germans, while he distributed his infantry in the fortresses of Picardy. On the other hand, Mayenne had been joined at Verdun by the Papal army under Montemarciano, consisting of 3,000 Italians, 6,000 Swiss, and 2,000 Spaniards from Sicily. The treasure accumulated by Sixtus V. had enabled Gregory to set on foot this army. But the counsels of the League were divided. The young Duke Charles of Guise, who had been kept a prisoner since the murder of his father, succeeded in escaping from the Castle of Tours, and a party had gathered round him with which his uncle Mayenne was at open enmity. Mayenne had also quarrelled with the Sixteen, which body had thrown themselves completely into the arms of Rome and the King of Spain. They had obtained, as we have seen, a Spanish garrison in Paris ; they demanded the re-establishment of the Council of the Union ; they took up the claims of the young Duke of Guise, whom they wished to see married to the Spanish Infanta ; nay, the majority of them, as appeared from an intercepted letter, would have accepted Philip himself for their Sovereign, and this sentiment was shared by the University of Paris. It appears from a document discovered among the archives of Simancas,¹ that this party was ready to allow the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition ; Philip was no longer to be King of Spain, but the "Great King"—in short, to accomplish at last his scheme of universal monarchy. A committee consisting of the more violent members of the Sixteen condemned and hanged the President Brisson, who belonged to that moderate, or trimming, party called the "Politicians." But this and other acts of violence produced a reaction. Mayenne gained the upper hand, hanged four of the Sixteen, forbade the re-

¹ Ranke, *Franz. Gesch.* B. vi. K. 4.

mainder, under pain of death, to hold clandestine meetings, and thus suppressed for a time that turbulent Council.

Queen Elizabeth had made it a condition of granting her succour that they should be first employed against the League in the north-western provinces of France, and Henry accordingly laid siege to Rouen, one of the strongholds of that faction. Its relief could not be attempted without the help of the Duke of Parma, which Mayenne contrived to obtain without committing himself to any engagement respecting the designs of Philip. Farnese, suffering from ill-health and vexed to be called away from the affairs of the Netherlands, was commanded to sacrifice everything to the interests of the League. It was not, however, till January, 1592, that he appeared in France; and meanwhile Rouen, hard pressed by Henry, who had received considerable reinforcements from England, besides 3,000 Dutch troops, was suffering all the extremities of famine. On the approach of the Spanish army, Henry, who had pushed forward with 1,000 horse to make a reconnaissance, was wounded in a skirmish. On approaching Rouen, the Duke of Parma proposed an immediate attack on the besieging army; but Mayenne, who did not wish him to gain a decisive victory, diverted him from this scheme, and the Catholic army, for want of provisions, was obliged to retire to the north of the Somme. When it again returned, however, about the middle of April, Henry, whose forces were much diminished, was compelled to retreat, and the Duke of Parma entered Rouen in triumph (April 20th). There was then a remarkable struggle for the possession of Caudebec, a sort of arsenal of the Huguenots, before which place Farnese was wounded in the arm with a bullet. Caudebec was taken; but while the Duke of Parma was laid up with his wound, as well as Mayenne from a less honourable cause, Henry IV. succeeded in shutting up the Catholic army in the peninsula in which Caudebec lies, surrounded on three sides by the Seine, which here resembles an arm of the sea. Farnese, however, displayed his usual fertility of resource. He caused a number of boats, rafts, and pontoons to be constructed at Rouen, which were floated down with the tide; and on the 12th of May, with the aid of a slight fog, he transported all his army, with their artillery and baggage, to the opposite shore, without losing a man. Then, marching up the left bank of the Seine, he crossed that river again at St. Cloud,

Farnese
relieves
Rouen.

and returned into the Netherlands. Nothing can convey a stronger impression of the cautious tactics of this great captain than his having thus on two occasions marched so many hundred miles, and relieved two capital cities, without having fought a single pitched battle. Henry was almost reduced to despair. After all his efforts he found himself in no better position than after his victory at Ivry, two years before. Yet, on the whole, the war in the provinces had been in his favour. In the south-east, especially, where Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, had attempted an invasion, Lesdiguières defeated him, and, with the help of the Duke of Epernon, chased him over the Alps almost to the gates of Turin.

The retreat of the Duke of Parma, and his subsequent illness and death, were more advantageous to Henry IV. than any victory could have been. On the other hand, the ill reception Henry's agents met with at Rome, owing to the contradictory promises which he had made to both sides, gave an impulse to the "Third Party," which supported the pretensions of the Cardinal of Bourbon. A new Pontiff now occupied the Chair of Peter. Gregory XIV. died in October, 1591, and his successor, Innocent IX., Cardinal Fachinetti, an old man of seventy-three, lived only two months. The inconvenience of this frequent mortality determined the Conclave to elect a younger man; and their choice fell upon Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini, who had been named, though in the second place, by the Court of Spain, which would have preferred the election of Cardinal San Severino. Aldobrandini, who was chosen January 20th, 1592, assumed the name of Clement VIII. He was still in the vigour of life, having been born at Fano, in 1536. He was the youngest of five sons of Salvestro Aldobrandini, of a considerable family at Florence, which had opposed the Medici, and had been driven into exile on the return of that house in 1531.¹ Patronized by Cardinal Alexander Farnese, Ippolito obtained an auditorship in the Roman Rota, and was created a Cardinal by Sixtus V., who employed him as Nuncio in Poland. Clement VIII. was of active and business-like habits. The interests of the Church, the administration of the Roman States, the general politics of Europe, all claimed a share of

Accession
of Pope
Clement
VIII.

¹ Gino Capponi, *Storia di Firenze*, iii. p. 309.

his attention ; while, at the same time, he strictly attended to his spiritual duties. He strictly observed all the fasts of the Church, and sought no other relaxation than the discussion of abstruse theological questions ; by which conduct he obtained an extraordinary reputation for piety. Clement VIII. had found the Court of Rome committed to a Spanish policy ; but he was not himself very warmly devoted to the interests of Spain ; and Henry's envoy, Cardinal Gondi, when he arrived at Florence, received a message that he could not be acknowledged at Rome, though hopes were held out of a private reception. In November, 1592, the Legate of Clement VIII. renewed against Henry IV. the censures of the Church ; but since Mayenne's proceedings against the Sixteen, the reaction against the League and in favour of the "Third Party," or "Politicians," had continued to increase, the exhortations of the fanatical clergy began to be neglected, and the prejudices against Henry IV. declined more and more every day.

There were at this time seven or eight pretenders to the French Crown : Philip II., both for himself and for his daughter, the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia ; the Duke of Mayenne ; the young Duke Charles of Guise ; and the Marquis Pont-à-Mousson, who, if the pretensions of the House of Lorraine were to be admitted, had undoubtedly a better claim than any of the family, both as belonging to the elder branch, and as the son of the second daughter of Henry II. and Catharine de' Medici. Other claimants were the Duke of Savoy, the Duke of Nemours, and the Catholic Bourbons. Philip determined to bring the question to an issue in the States-General, which Mayenne had summoned to meet at Paris in January, 1593, whither Philip sent the Duke of Feria as his ambassador. After an interview with Feria, Mayenne, finding that he could not obtain the French throne for himself at the price of ceding Provence and Picardy to Spain, promised to support the claim of the Infanta, on condition of being maintained in the lieutenant-generalship, and of obtaining Burgundy as an hereditary government, besides that of Picardy for life, and enormous pecuniary advantages. Meanwhile Henry IV. had resolved to frustrate the plots of his adversaries by an abjuration. He refused to acknowledge the States assembled by Mayenne, declared all their acts null, and the members guilty of high treason ; but announced at

Pretenders
to the
French
Crown.

the same time that he was ready to receive "instruction;" while the Catholic princes, prelates, and lords of his party, though they rejected the summons of Guise to attend the assembly, proposed a conference at some neutral place in the neighbourhood of Paris. Such a proceeding was, of course, warmly opposed by the Spanish party, and by Sega, the Papal Legate, who was in the pay of Spain; but, in spite of their opposition, the States-General of the League delegated twelve commissioners to treat with those of Henry IV. at Suresne, a village not far from Paris. The debates were conducted by Renaud de Beaune, Archbishop of Bourges, on the part of the King, and Pierre d'Espinac, Archbishop of Lyons, a man of bad character but great talent, on that of the League. On the 15th of May, Henry, who was at Mantes with his council, made a communication to this meeting, requiring that a certain number of bishops and theologians should be sent to him within two months, for his instruction, and announcing his intention to assemble at Mantes the notables of the Kingdom and the deputies of sovereign courts to take counsel as well for the interests of religion as of the state. As the prelates and doctors invited to instruct him were Roman Catholics, without the admixture of a single Huguenot, it was evident that he had resolved to embrace the Romish faith, and that his "instruction" was a mere matter of form. Gabrielle d'Estrées, who was enthusiastic for "the Mass," is said to have contributed not a little to bring Henry to this decision.

Conference
at Suresne.

Negotia-
tions of
Philip II.
and the
League.

To frustrate these negotiations, the Duke of Feria offered to the League the services of 14,000 Spanish troops for a year, and 1,200,000 crowns for the pay of French troops, and half these succours for the following year, provided the Infanta were declared Queen of France; and he afterwards increased this offer to 20,000 men for two years. Mayenne laid these propositions before the States; and Inigo Mendoza, a Spanish doctor whom Feria had brought with him, addressed them in a long Latin oration, in which he endeavoured to prove that females were not excluded from succession to the French throne. The deputies listened to his harangue with frigid silence; and, to the offers of the ambassador, they replied only by a question: "Did his Catholic Majesty intend to marry the Infanta to a French Prince?" Had Philip II. at once determined in favour of the young Duke of Guise, he would in all probability have carried the States with him;

the League would perhaps have proved victorious, and at all events the struggle would have been much prolonged. But Philip had been misinformed respecting the state of public opinion in France. He thought that he could marry his daughter to whomsoever he pleased, and he named as her consort the Archduke Ernest of Austria, her cousin. This proposition was fatal to the Spanish interests. The States would not listen to it; the majority voted for a truce with the royalists; but they confided to Mayenne the preparation of an answer to the Spanish proposals. The policy of Mayenne was of the most selfish description. He saw with regret the reactionary movement against the League, with whose downfall his own power would end; at the same time he did not desire its complete triumph by means of Spain, which, even though it might establish his own nephew on the throne of France, would be equally fatal to his personal claims. He therefore contrived an answer, which, while it was unacceptable to Philip, should also tend to prolong the war, by involving a gross breach of the rights of Henry IV. His reply, approved by the States, was: That the election of a foreign Prince was contrary to the laws and usages of France; but that if his Catholic Majesty would consent to the election of a French Prince, to whom his daughter should afterwards be married, an end might be put to the troubles of France. Feria, waiving the nomination of the Archduke Ernest, met this unpalatable proposal with the following ultimatum (June 21st): That the Infanta, and a French Prince, to be named within two months by Philip II. as her husband, should be declared *proprietors* of the French Crown. Even to this proposition the States would probably have agreed, if the Spaniards would have consented that the King and Queen should be named at the instant of their marriage; but Feria insisted on the immediate appointment of the Infanta, and that the name of her husband should be left in blank. Spain could scarcely have exacted harder conditions from a conquered country. They caused universal dissatisfaction. Feria was hissed in the streets; the States-General withdrew their former concessions; the Parliament of Paris declared all treaties for the establishment of a foreign Prince or Princess upon the throne null and contrary to Salic law; nor did the States impugn their decision. The general discontent was increased by Henry IV. having laid siege to Dreux, the

principal entrepôt of provisions coming to Paris from the south. Feria at length consented that the Infanta should marry the Duke of Guise; but Mayenne, though compelled to profess a high sense of the honour done his house, used every endeavour to avoid its acceptance.

On the 12th July the King appeared at St. Denis to be instructed. Lincestre, who had been one of the most fanatical preachers of the League in Paris, appeared among the clergy: a decisive symptom of the alteration in public opinion. Segar, the Legate, was furious, and Mayenne and other chiefs of the League, who did not wish to break with Spain, swore an oath between his hands that they would make no peace with "the King of Navarre," whatever Catholic acts he might do. Henry went through the ceremony of his conversion with levity and indifference, sometimes posing the bishops with texts from Scripture, sometimes rallying them on points which would not bear a very strict scrutiny.¹ He was wont to remark that, perhaps, the difference between the two religions was so great only through the animosity of those who preached them, and that he would one day endeavour to accommodate everything.² He had already been twice a Catholic and twice a Protestant, and he can, therefore, hardly be said to have made any sacrifice of conscience or principle on this occasion; but he felt the separation from the Huguenot party and his ancient comrades, who had supported him with their blood and substance, and, according to their own expression, "had carried him on their shoulders from the banks of the Loire." James II. has been ridiculed as a bigot in having lost three Kingdoms for a Mass, and Henry IV. has been reviled as an apostate for having gained one by the same means.³ The bigotry of James, however, led him to assert his creed by levying war against the majority of his subjects, while those of Henry derived from his apostasy the blessings of peace and union. On the 25th of July, 1593, he made a solemn abjuration of Protestantism, in the Abbey of St. Denis,

¹ Thus, on the article of purgatory he remarked: "J'y croirai, parceque l'Eglise y croit, et que je suis fils de l'Eglise, et aussi pour vous faire plaisir; car c'est le meilleur de vos revenus."—See Michelet, *La Ligue*, p. 412.

² *Vie de Mornay*, written by his wife, prefixed to his *Mémoires*, t. i. p. 261.

³ Henry would have bought Paris at the same price. "Paris," he said, "vaut bien une messe!"—Martin, t. x. p. 357.

before the Archbishop of Bourges, who absolved him, and gave him the benediction; and Henry afterwards attended High Mass in the presence of his Court.

Philip and the League endeavoured to prevent the acceptance of Henry's abjuration by the Pope. The Legate had previously denounced Henry as a relapsed heretic, declared null and void all that the French prelates might do, and stigmatized Henry's conversion as a pretence to gain the Crown. The King sent to Rome a solemn embassy, at the head of which was the Duke of Nevers, in order to procure the Pontiff's confirmation of the absolution granted by the Archbishop of Bourges; but Clement, who was afraid of the King of Spain, and who was also desirous to have the complete control not only of the King's absolution but also if possible of the establishment of his temporal power, refused at first to receive Henry's ambassador, except as Louis Gonzaga, Duke of Nevers, and in January the Duke quitted Rome in disgust. A truce of three months had been agreed upon, during which many nobles and several important towns made their submission to the King. Many towns, however, still held out for the League, and among them Paris as well as Rheims, by ancient usage the metropolitan city appropriated to the coronation of the Kings of France. Henry IV. deemed that ceremony indispensable to sanctify his cause in the eyes of the people, and he therefore caused it to be performed at Chartres by the bishop of that place, Nicolas de Thou, February 27th, 1594. But he could hardly look upon himself as King of France so long as Paris remained in the hands of a faction which disputed his right, and he therefore strained every nerve to get possession of that capital. The Spanish garrison in it had been reinforced; Mayenne had revived the Sixteen, and by means of Spanish gold, a measure of corn and a small weekly payment were given to some 4,000 of the lowest populace.

Henry IV.
crowned at
Chartres.

Henry knew that the more respectable citizens hated the Spaniards, and would be glad to see them driven out; but, as he wished to get possession of the city without bloodshed, he determined to attempt it by corrupting the commandant. This was Charles de Cossé, Count of Brissac, a man who had imbibed republican ideas from the study of the ancient writers, and who had formed the chimerical project of establishing in Paris a sort of Roman Republic; but being soon convinced

He buys
the Com-
mandant
of Paris.

of its impossibility, had rushed to the contrary extreme, and exchanged his high-flown notions for views of self-interest. Henry promised Brissac, as the price of his admission into Paris, the sum of 200,000 crowns and an annual pension of 20,000, together with the governments of Corbeil and Mantes, and a marshal's baton. To the Parisians was offered an amnesty from which only criminals were to be excepted; the confirmation of all their privileges; and the prohibition of the Protestant worship within a radius of ten leagues. L'Huillier, the *Prévôt des Marchands*, who had met Brissac's first proposal of surrender with a biting sarcasm,¹ was gained with the office of President of the *Chambre des Comptes*, and other civic officials with other bribes. The Parisians stipulated for the safe retreat of the Papal Legate, and the Spanish ambassador and garrison. When these arrangements were completed, the colonels and officers of the city bands were assembled at L'Huillier's house and instructed what they were to do. Before daybreak on the morning of the 22nd March, 1594, Brissac opened the gates of Paris to Henry's troops, who took possession of the city without resistance, except at one of the Spanish guard-houses, where a few soldiers were killed. When all appeared quiet, Henry himself entered, and was astonished at being greeted with joyous cheers by the people from whom he had experienced so stubborn a resistance. He gave manifold proofs of forbearance and good temper, fulfilled all the conditions of his agreement, and allowed the Spaniards to withdraw unmolested; who, 400 strong, quitted Paris on the same day that he entered it, followed by the Duke of Feria and the other accredited Spanish ministers. Even the Sorbonne and the more moderate clergy at length made a tardy submission (April 22nd); though the Jesuits and fanatical monks continued to thunder against the King, because he was not yet reconciled with the Pope. The submission of the Sorbonne may be regarded as the *coup de grâce* of the League.

Mayenne quitted Paris for Soissons March 6th, whence he proceeded to Laon. Towards the end of May the King in person laid siege to Laon, at whose approach Mayenne set off for Brussels to hasten the succours promised to him by the

¹ On Brissac's observing: "Il faut rendre à César ce qui appartient à César," L'Huillier replied: "Oui, il faut le lui rendre, mais non pas le lui vendre."—Michelet, *La Ligue*, p. 424.

Archduke Ernest, Governor of the Netherlands. The Spanish ambassador tried to persuade the Archduke to arrest Mayenne, whom he distrusted; but Tassis advised Ernest against a step which would at once have flung the remnant of the League into the arms of the King of France. Mayenne learnt the designs of the Spaniards from an intercepted letter which Henry forwarded to him, and he never forgave them. Nevertheless, being assisted by some troops under Count Mansfeld, he attempted, but without success, to raise the siege of Laon. That town surrendered to the royalists, August 22nd, and its example was soon followed by Château-Thierry, Amiens, and Noyon. The success of the King induced the Duke of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise to make their peace with him. The submission of Guise placed Champagne at the King's disposal, of which province the Duke was governor. In lieu of it Henry invested him with the government of Provence, an appointment which conferred almost sovereign rights; and bestowed other marks of favour both on him and his brothers.

Notwithstanding his humanity and good temper, the King neglected not a wholesome severity, and banished from Paris upwards of a hundred of the more fanatical democrats. The *Satyre Ménippée*, a political squib, in which the League and its chiefs were ridiculed with a humour approaching that of Rabelais, had not a little contributed to turn the tide of public opinion in his favour. Henry regarded the Jesuits as his most dangerous enemies; and after he had established himself at Paris, Jacques d'Amboise, whom he had newly appointed rector of the University, prosecuted them before the Parliament as abettors of treason. Afraid, however, of offending the Pope, with whom he was not yet reconciled, the King would probably have abstained from pushing matters to the last extremity against them, but for the fanatical act of one of their pupils. On the 27th of November, 1594, while Henry was in the hotel of his mistress Gabrielle d'Estrées, a young man named Jean Châtel attempted to stab him in the breast, but the King, fortunately stooping at the time, received the blow on his mouth. The assassin, who confessed that he had attended the college of the Jesuits, was put to death with the most dreadful tortures. So great was the public indignation at this attempt that the people could hardly be withheld from storming the Jesuit College. All the mem-

Attempt
on Henry's
life.

bers of that Society were arrested, and their papers examined. One of them, named Jean Guignard, with whom was found a treatise approving the murder of Henry III., and maintaining that his successor might deserve a like fate, was condemned to the gallows; and the remainder of the Society were banished the realm, January 8th, 1595, as corruptors of youth and disturbers of the public peace.¹ In a few years, however, they were recalled; nor, in fact, was the edict of banishment anything more than a dead letter in the greater part of the French Kingdom. The irritation caused by this event seems to have precipitated Henry IV. into a step which he had been some time meditating: a declaration of war against his old and most bitter enemy Philip II., in which, among other things, he charged that Sovereign with suborning assassins to take his life. The King of Spain, whom the want of money had prevented from giving the League much help during the two preceding years, was stung into fury by this challenge; and he immediately ordered Don Fernando de Velasco, Constable of Castile, to join Mayenne in Franche-Comté with 10,000 men. Velasco, however, was no great captain, and little of importance was done. The only action worth mentioning is an affair of cavalry at Fontaine-Française (June 6th, 1595), in which Henry displayed his usual bravery, or rather rashness, but came off victorious. He then overran nearly all Franche-Comté without meeting with any impediment from Velasco, but retired at the instance of the Swiss, who entreated him to respect the neutrality of that province. Meanwhile Henry had made advances to Mayenne, who was disgusted with Velasco and the Spaniards, and on the 25th September Mayenne, in the name of the League, signed with the King a truce of three months, with a view to regulate the conditions of future submission.

An event had already occurred which placed Henry in a much more favourable position with his Roman Catholic subjects: he had succeeded in effecting his reconciliation with the Pope. Not only had Henry become much more humble and submissive in his supplications,² but Clement VIII. also, on

¹ See the *Annuaire Littéraire Soc. Jesu*, 1596, ap. Ranke, *Popes*, vol. ii. p. 258.

² D'Ossat's letters and the *Ambassades du Cardinal Perron* describe Henry's negotiations at Rome. M. Michelet characterizes Henry's letters to the Pope as "uniques en bassesse." Brave as he was in the

his side, had been convinced by his counsellors that it was necessary to his interests as an Italian Prince to restore the equilibrium between France and Spain. He dreaded also the separation of the Gallican Church from Rome; and some one admonished him to beware lest Clement VIII. should lose France as Clement VII. had lost England. Du Perron and D'Ossat, both of whom were afterwards made Cardinals, were admitted by the Pope as the King's ambassadors, and after some negotiation a reconciliation was effected. Henry agreed to restore the Roman Catholic religion in Béarn; to accept the decrees of Trent so far as compatible with the laws of France; strictly to observe the Concordat, and to educate the heir presumptive (the young Prince of Condé) in the Romish faith. Clement spoke with the Cardinals separately, and declared that two-thirds of them were in favour of the French King's absolution. On the 17th of September, 1595, Du Perron and D'Ossat appeared before the Pope, who, surrounded by his Cardinals and Court, sat on a high throne erected under the portico of St. Peter's. The petition of the King was then read: his ambassadors promised that he should do all that was required of him, and renounce everything contrary to the holy Catholic religion; then, kneeling down before the Pope, they received some light strokes of the rod, whilst the choir sang the *Miserere*. This scene concluded, the Pontiff read some prayers, and putting on the triple crown, pronounced the King's absolution, having first revoked that granted by the Archbishop of Bourges. The ceremony was concluded by the singing of the *Te Deum* in the basilica.

Clement
VIII. ab-
solves
Henry.

In January, 1596, Henry signed with Mayenne, at the Castle of Folembray, the treaty which put an end to the League. The reverses which the arms of Henry had sustained in the north, and more especially the influence of the fair Gabrielle, whom Mayenne had gained by promising to forward the interests of her children, procured for the chief of the League more favourable terms than he was entitled to expect. Soissons, Châlons, and Seurre were assigned to him for six years as places of security; an amnesty was granted to all other partisans of the League who should within six weeks take advantage of the present edict; the adherents of

Closing
scenes of
the Civil
Wars.

field, he avowed to Sully, "qu'il était peureux devant le couteau."—*La Ligue*, p. 434.

Mayenne were to retain their offices and honours, the King took upon himself that Prince's debts, and recognized as valid all his public acts and financial accounts. The murderers of Henry III. were alone excepted from the general amnesty, but the King acknowledged that on that head no charge rested upon the princes and princesses of the League.¹

The chief nobles who still held out against Henry IV. were the Duke of Epemon in Provence and the Duke of Mercœur in Brittany. Epemon concluded a treaty with Philip II., who lent him some assistance; but the tyranny of that noble had rendered him highly unpopular in Provence. On the entrance of the Duke of Guise, Henry's Governor, the people crowded to his standard; as he approached Marseilles the inhabitants rose, drove out the Spanish garrison, and opened their gates to Guise and his troops. This was the most important victory gained by the King since the reduction of Paris, and he owed it to a former enemy. Epemon made his peace with Henry, and received Périgord and the Limousin in addition to his former governments of Angoulême and Saintonge. The Duke of Mercœur rose in Brittany in 1597, after the taking of Amiens by the Spaniards, and Charles Emmanuel of Savoy projected an invasion of Dauphiné. Both were supported by Philip II., in order to distract the forces of Henry IV. and prevent him from retaking Amiens; but Lesdiguières anticipated Charles Emmanuel by carrying the war into Savoy and taking Maurienne; whilst Mercœur, who had been deprived by storms of the succour expected from a Spanish fleet, saw his troops beaten at Dinan by those of the King. The frontier towns of Brittany submitted on Henry's approach, and Mercœur, finding resistance hopeless, had recourse to Gabrielle. Enticed by the proposal of a marriage between the only daughter of Mercœur, the heiress of his vast possessions, and her little son Cæsar, her offspring by the King, Gabrielle procured favourable terms for the Duke, which were ratified in a treaty signed by Henry and the Duchess of Mercœur at Angers, March 20th, 1598.

It was after the reduction of Brittany that Henry signed at Nantes the celebrated edict which closed the religious struggle in France. The treaties which the King had been obliged to make with the various chiefs of the League had

¹ The treaty is in Palma Cayet, t. vi. p. 233 (Petitot, t. xliii.).

been very adverse to the Huguenots. The reformed worship had been prohibited in many towns, nay, in whole districts, and especially in Provence, where its celebration had been forbidden on pain of death by the Parliament of Aix in all places within its jurisdiction. At the same time the Huguenots were excluded from all offices of trust and power, and the *chambres mi-parties*, or courts composed of Catholics and Protestants, were everywhere suppressed, except at Paris and in Languedoc. These oppressions had led the Huguenots to restore their ancient federated organization; they complained loudly of the King's ingratitude, making no allowance for the difficulties of his position; and they held frequent general assemblies, in which the more ardent of them counselled resorting to violent measures in order to obtain their rights. In the course of 1597 Henry deputed four commissioners, among whom was De Thou, the celebrated historian, then President of the Parliament of Paris, to treat with them; but it was perhaps the success of the King's arms against the Spaniards which principally induced the Huguenots to listen to terms. In December, 1597, Henry gave a written promise to leave them, for a term of eight years, in possession of all the places which they occupied; to pay the Protestant garrisons maintained in them; and to bestow employment indifferently on all his subjects without regard to their religious tenets. In April, 1598, he published the EDICT OF NANTES, which secured to the Huguenots liberty of conscience and the free exercise of their religion in all places where it had been established during the two preceding years, as well as those named in the edict of 1577; also in one city or town in every bailiwick or district of a seneschal, without infringing the treaties made with the Catholics. On the other hand, Catholic worship was to be restored in all places where it had been interrupted. Protestants were to be admitted to all colleges, schools, and hospitals; were to be at liberty to found schools and colleges of their own, as well as to publish their religious books in all places where their worship was allowed; and they were to be admissible to all offices and employments without submitting to any oath or ceremony contrary to their conscience. Disinheritance on the score of religion was not to be valid, and parents might by will provide for the education of their children. Many regulations were made respecting legal suits in which Protestants were parties. On the

Edict of
Nantes,
1598.

other hand they were required to pay tithes, to respect the holidays of the Church and the prohibited degrees of affinity in marriage; to renounce all negotiations and alliances with foreigners; to dissolve their provincial councils; and to raise no subsidies except for the maintenance of their ministers and worship and with the consent of the King.¹

Such were the chief provisions of this celebrated edict, which modified the exclusive power of the Roman Catholic Church, and apparently founded a new era in France—that of toleration.

¹ The edict is in Dumont, t. v. pt. i. p. 545 sqq.

CHAPTER XXVII

ESTABLISHMENT OF PEACE IN THE EAST AND WEST

IT has been seen in the preceding chapter that the King of Spain was at this period directing his whole attention to the affairs of France; a mistaken policy which, by diverting his money and resources from the Netherlands, fortunately enabled the Seven United Provinces to become an independent Power. The Austrian Archduke Ernest, who had been appointed Governor of the Netherlands after the death of the Duke of Parma, did not take possession of his office till the beginning of 1594; and in the interval the government was conducted by Count Peter Ernest of Mansfeld. Philip, however, allowed the Count but little real power. He sent some Spaniards to watch over him; and appointed a council of war, in which were several of that nation, having for its president Pedro Henriquez, Count of Fuentes, who published some cruel decrees. In 1593 Count Mansfeld sent into France a small army under the command of his son Charles, which helped the Duke of Mayenne to take Noyon and a few other places in Picardy, and then returned into the Netherlands. During this period Prince Maurice succeeded in taking the important town of Gertruidenberg. In the following year (1594) Philip ordered the Archduke Ernest to despatch Mansfeld with a considerable body of troops to assist Mayenne in relieving Laon; the ill success of which attempt has been already related. Maurice availed himself of Mansfeld's absence to reduce Groningen, a place not only important as a fortress, but also as an indispensable member of the Dutch Republic. Groningen now obtained its place among the Seven United Provinces, of which Maurice was elected Stadholder. Maurice also crippled the power of Spain by supporting the Spanish mutineers in Brabant, whose pay

Operations
in the
Nether-
lands.

The Arch-
duke Albert
Governor.

was in arrear. The Archduke Ernest, having died in February, 1595, at the age of forty-two, Philip appointed in his place Ernest's brother, the Archduke Albert, formerly Viceroy of Portugal, and also substituted him for Ernest as the future husband of the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia. Although Albert had been made Archbishop of Toledo and a Cardinal, he had not taken priest's orders, and a dispensation for his marriage might easily be procured. With Albert returned Philip William, the eldest son of William the Silent, after a captivity of twenty-eight years in Spain. By so long an exile his spirit had been completely broken; by the arts of the Jesuits he had been converted into a bigoted papist; and Philip now thought that he might be made an instrument for the recovery of the Netherlands.

The Span-
iards take
Cambray.

It was in January of this year that Henry IV. declared war against the King of Spain. Besides the expedition of Velasco in the south, Philip II. ordered the Spaniard Fuentes, who, till the arrival of Albert, conducted the government of the Netherlands, to invade the north of France; and Fuentes, having quelled the mutiny of the Spanish troops, and having left Modragon with sufficient forces to keep Prince Maurice in check, set off with 15,000 men, with the design of recovering Cambray. Le Catelet and Dourlens yielded to his arms; Ham was betrayed to him by the treachery of the governor, and in August Fuentes sat down before Cambray. It will be recollected that the Duke of Anjou had made over that place to his mother, Catharine de' Medici, who had appointed Balagny to be governor of it. During the civil wars of France, Balagny had established himself there as a little independent sovereign, and called himself Prince of Cambray; but after the discomfiture of the League he had been compelled to declare himself, and had acknowledged his allegiance to the King of France. His extortion and tyranny having rendered him detested by the inhabitants, they sent a message to Henry IV. requesting him to dismiss Balagny, and receive them under his immediate authority. Unfortunately, however, Balagny and his wife had gained over Gabrielle d'Estrées; at her instance Henry declined the request of the citizens, who, to avenge themselves, delivered Cambray to the Spaniards, October 2nd. Fuentes now returned into the Netherlands, where the campaign had not been marked by any memorable event.

The Cardinal Archduke Albert arrived at Brussels in February, 1596, when Fuentes resigned his command, and returned to Spain. Albert also directed his principal attention to the war against France, and sent a peaceful message to Prince Maurice and the United Provinces, which, however, met with no attention. Henry IV. had been engaged since the winter in the siege of La Fère, a little town at the junction of the Serre and Oise. He had received reinforcements from England as well as from Germany and Holland. He had endeavoured to excuse his apostasy to Queen Elizabeth as an act of political necessity; and although she viewed it with indignation, her hatred of Spain induced her still to assist the French King, though her succours were no longer bestowed so liberally and so cordially as before. Albert marched to Valenciennes with 20,000 men, with the avowed intention of relieving La Fère; but instead of attempting that enterprise, he despatched De Rosne, a French renegade who had entered the service of Spain, with the greater part of the forces, to surprise Calais; and that important place was taken by assault, April 17th, before Henry could arrive for its defence. La Fère surrendered May 22nd; and Henry then marched with his army towards the coast of Picardy, where he endeavoured, but in vain, to provoke the Spaniards to give him battle. After fortifying Calais and Ardres, Albert withdrew again into the Netherlands.

Calais
taken.

In the negotiations between Elizabeth and Henry in the preceding year, the English Queen had demanded to be put in possession of Calais or Boulogne, as a security for the charges of the war; a demand which Henry had rejected. During the investment of Calais by the Spaniards, Elizabeth had renewed her proposal, in case she should be the means of saving it, when Henry again refused. Nevertheless, Elizabeth, alarmed at the occupation by the Spaniards of a port which afforded such facilities for the invasion of England, soon afterwards concluded another offensive and defensive alliance with Henry IV. (May 24th), in which the contracting parties pledged themselves to make no separate peace or truce with Philip II.; and they invited all those States and Princes, who had reason to dread that ambitious monarch, to join the alliance.¹ The treaty was acceded to

Alliance
between
Henry and
Elizabeth.

¹ The treaty is in Dumont, t. v. pt. i. p. 525.

by the Dutch; but the German Protestant Princes, offended by Henry's apostasy, and alarmed by the war then raging between the Austrians and the Turks, refused to enter into it. The treaty, however, had little effect. Elizabeth could not be induced to lend the French King more than 2,000 men, and that on condition of his maintaining them; nor would she allow the armament under Essex, which Henry had in vain solicited for the relief of Calais, to co-operate with him in the Netherlands, but despatched it to the coasts of Spain.

Cadiz captured by the English.

The hostile preparations in the Spanish ports had for some time back excited great alarm in England. Another attempt at invasion was apprehended, and a large armament was fitted out under Lord Howard of Effingham as admiral, and the Earl of Essex as commander of the land forces. The expedition was also accompanied by Sir Walter Raleigh. The fleet, which after the junction of twenty-two Dutch ships, consisted of 150 sail, with about 14,000 men on board,¹ cast anchor in the Bay of Cadiz, June 20th. On the following day, after an obstinate contest of some hours' duration, two of the four great Spanish galleons were captured, and two burnt. The rest of the Spanish fleet were driven into the harbour, and rather than pay the ransom demanded the Duke of Medina Sidonia caused them to be burnt—a third of the Spanish navy. Essex, then landing with 3,000 soldiers, succeeded in penetrating into the town; and in the market-place he was joined by the admiral and another party, who had entered at a different quarter. The inhabitants now surrendered, purchasing their lives with 120,000 crowns, and abandoning the city with its goods and merchandise to the conquerors. The bold, but perhaps not impracticable, plans of Essex, to penetrate into the heart of Andalusia, or, at all events, to hold possession of the Isle of Cadiz with 3,000 or 4,000 men, having been rejected by a majority of the commanders, the fleet set sail for England; and after making two descents of no great importance on the Spanish coast, arrived at Plymouth after an absence of about ten weeks. The loss suffered by the Spaniards was estimated at 20,000,000 ducats.

Thus, while Philip II. was affecting the conqueror, a severe

¹ 6,360 soldiers, about 1,000 gentlemen volunteers, and 6,672 sailors.

blow was struck in his own dominions. The secret of his weakness was revealed; and if the head of the Colossus was of gold, its feet were shown to be of clay. The English, on the other hand, acquired, even from the Spaniards themselves, the praise not only of bravery, but also of humanity and moderation, for the manner in which they had used their victory. The coolness of Essex's reception by the Queen and the intrigues which followed are well known. Infuriated by the insults received at Cadiz, Philip II. prepared at Lisbon a new armada for the invasion of England, or rather Ireland. Essex, with Lord Thomas Howard and Raleigh, had been intrusted with a counter-expedition against Spain; but the fleets of both nations were defeated by the elements. The Adelantado of Castile, on sailing from Ferrol, was caught in a terrible storm, which dispersed and damaged his fleet. On again collecting his ships, instead of attempting to land in England, he made the best of his way back to the Spanish coast, but lost by another storm sixteen sail in the Bay of Biscay.¹ The enterprise was then abandoned. On the other hand, Essex had also been driven back to the port by stress of weather, and his ships were so much damaged that most of the gentlemen volunteers refused again to put to sea. Essex himself, however, with a small squadron, sailed to the Azores, and captured Fayal, Graciosa, and Flores, but missed falling in with the Spanish fleet from the Indies, which was the chief object of the expedition. On their return with a few prizes, the English were enveloped, near the Scilly Isles, in the same storm which dispersed the Spanish fleet, but contrived to get safely into their own harbours.

Further
attempts
on Spain.

During Albert's absence in France in 1596 nothing of importance was undertaken by Prince Maurice, who had no great force at his disposal; and the Archduke on his return laid siege to Hulst, which at last surrendered to the Spaniards (August 18th). This disaster, however, was compensated early in 1597 by a splendid victory gained by Prince Maurice at Turnhout, where he defeated and destroyed a large body of Spanish troops. His success on this occasion is ascribed to his having furnished his cavalry with carabines; an invention which afterwards came into general use, and gave rise

War in the
Nether-
lands, 1597.

¹ According to Philip himself, 40 ships with 5,000 men. *Letter of Philip to Albert*, ap. Motley, *United Netherlands*, vol. iii. ch. xxii. *sub fin.*

to that description of troops called "dragoons." Archduke Albert, however, soon afterwards consoled himself for this blow by taking Amiens. Its capture was effected by an ingenious stratagem of the Spanish general Puertocarrero.

Loss and
recovery of
Amiens.

Henry IV., after holding an Assembly of Notables at Rouen, was amusing himself at Paris when he received the news of this terrible blow. The loss of Amiens, following so rapidly on that of Dourlens, Cambray, and Calais, had begun to shake all confidence in Henry's good fortune. A great deal of discontent existed in France, occasioned by the taxes which the King had found it necessary to impose; the Huguenots also were in motion; whilst the Duke of Savoy and the Duke of Mercœur allied themselves with Spain, as we have mentioned in the preceding chapter. In the extremity of his distress Henry applied to Elizabeth to make a diversion by laying siege to Calais, offering now to pledge that town to her if she took it;¹ but this time it was Elizabeth who refused. Henry, however, met his difficulties with vigour and resolution. He sent Biron with 4,500 or 5,000 men to blockade Amiens, and that body was soon converted into a regular army by recruits from all parts of the kingdom. After a siege of several months Amiens submitted (September 19th, 1597). Albert made an ineffectual attempt to relieve it: he was but ill supported by Philip II., who towards the end of 1596 had made another bankruptcy, which had shaken credit and commerce throughout Europe. During the siege Prince Maurice had also gained several advantages in the Netherlands.

Peace of
Vervins,
1598.

The fall of Amiens and the ill success of his attempts upon France turned the thoughts of the Spanish King to peace. Pope Clement VIII. had long been desirous of putting an end to the war between France and Spain, which, besides preventing Philip from succouring Austria against the Turks, promoted the cause of heresy in the Netherlands and elsewhere. In 1596 Cardinal Alexander de' Medici, the Papal Legate in France, made advances to the French King which Henry did not repulse; and Fra Buonaventura Calatagirona, the General of the Franciscans, was despatched to Madrid to try the ground. The negotiations were long protracted; and Philip made indirect offers of peace to England, and even to

¹ Matthieu, ap. Martin, t. x. p. 411.

the United Provinces, but Henry IV. alone showed any inclination to treat. He sent an envoy extraordinary to London to represent to Elizabeth the necessity of peace for France, and he tried to persuade the Dutch to enter into the negotiations; while on the other hand, Cecil, the English ambassador, and Justin of Nassau and Barneveldt, the Dutch envoys at Paris, did all they could to divert Henry from his design, but without effect. In February, 1598, the French and Spanish plenipotentiaries met at Vervins, and on the 2nd of May a treaty was signed. By the PEACE OF VERVINS the Spaniards restored to France Calais, Ardres, Dourlens, La Capelle, and Le Câtelet in Picardy, and Blavet (Port-Louis) in Brittany, of all their conquests retaining only the citadel of Cambray. The rest of the conditions were referred to the treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis, which Henry had stipulated should form the basis of the negotiations.¹ The Duke of Savoy was included in the peace. Thus Philip at length acknowledged the heretic Sovereign, against whom his arms had been so long employed and such vast resources squandered. By the treaty concluded with England and the Dutch in 1596 Henry had bound himself to make no separate peace without the consent of those Powers; but he seems to have availed himself of a technical flaw in that treaty, purposely contrived by Du Vair, one of the negotiators on the part of France. One of the articles stipulated that the ratifications should be exchanged within six months, and Henry had delayed his signature till December 31st, more than seven months. Such a subterfuge could hardly have been allowed had the contracting parties found it expedient to contest the treaty of Vervins; but Henry succeeded in convincing Elizabeth and the Dutch that the peace was indispensable to him, and the good understanding with those Powers was not interrupted.²

The great political drama of which Philip II. had so long been the protagonist was now drawing to a close. Philip, who felt his end approaching, determined to abdicate, before he died, the sovereignty of the Netherlands in favour of his daughter, thus destroying with his own hands the unity of those provinces for which he had so long been contending. On the 14th of August, 1598, the States-General of the

Isabella
Clara
Eugenia.

¹ Dumont, t. v. pt. i. p. 561.

² *Life of Egerton*, p. 292; Camden, *Elizabeth*, vol. ii. p. 169.

southern or Catholic provinces took the oath of allegiance to the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia, and to her destined husband, the Archduke Albert, who had now resigned the cardinalate. The Infanta was also proclaimed in the County of Burgundy (Franche-Comté). Isabella and her heirs were to recognize the King of Spain as lord paramount; any future Prince of the Netherlands was forbidden to marry without the consent of that monarch; and should he fall from the orthodox faith he was, *ipso facto*, to lose all his rights. The Netherlands were to have the same friends and the same enemies as Spain; to abstain from all commerce with the East and West Indies; and to admit Spanish garrisons into Antwerp, Ghent, and Cambray.¹ Albert wrote to the several States of the United Provinces requiring them to acknowledge their lawful Prince, and offering to guarantee them in the maintenance of their religion, and the order of things established among them. But to this communication the States did not even vouchsafe an answer.

Death of
Philip II.,
1598.

Philip did not live to see his daughter's marriage. He expired at his palace of the Escorial, September 13th, 1598, aged seventy-one years, of which he had reigned forty-two. Death was a relief to him. After his return to Spain in 1559, Philip had chiefly resided at Madrid; making rare excursions to Aranjuez or the wood of Segovia, and visiting more frequently the gloomy pile of the Escorial in a dreary, stony valley, the abode of the monks of St. Jerome. Even here he was mostly shut up in his apartments; and in these dismal solitudes he contracted an air of imperturbable tranquillity which froze all who approached him. None dared to speak to him before he was ordered. He very rarely showed himself to the people, or even to the grandees, except on fêtes and holidays. His smile, however, is said to have been engaging, perhaps from its rarity; yet it was a saying at Court that there was no great distance between his smile and his dagger. He could long dissemble his resentments till the proper opportunity arrived for gratifying them.

Results of
his reign.

The reign of Philip II. was disastrous to his subjects. The lord of both Indies died a bankrupt; Portugal was ruined under his sway; a great part of the Netherlands was lost, while the provinces retained were almost wholly deprived of

¹ Dumont, t. v. pt. i. p. 573.

their commerce and manufactures; Spain itself was impoverished and enslaved. Such were the results of near half a century of busy and ambitious, but misdirected policy. Philip left three children; namely, by his third wife, Elizabeth of France, two daughters, Isabella Clara Eugenia, now sovereign of Flanders, and Catherine, married to the Duke of Savoy; and by his fourth wife, Anne of Austria, a son, who succeeded him with the title of Philip III. He had also had by Anne two sons and a daughter, who died in infancy.

With these revolutions of Western Europe the affairs of its eastern regions have afforded but few points of contact and connection, nor do these eastern affairs offer in themselves anything of very striking interest or importance.

The death of Maximilian II. in 1576, and the accession of his eldest son Rodolph II. to the Empire, have been already recorded. Born in 1552, Rodolph had been educated by his bigoted mother during the first twelve years of his life in that mechanical devotion which passed for religion among the Roman Catholics of those days. He was then sent to Spain, and under the auspices of his kinsman Philip II. received during the six years that he remained in that country a strictly Spanish education, superintended by the Jesuits. After the death of Don Carlos, Philip had, indeed, for a period designed to make Rodolph his successor on the Spanish thrones, and to give him the hand of his then only daughter in marriage. But these plans came to nothing; Rodolph returned into Germany, and was invested successively, as already recorded, with the Crowns of Hungary and Bohemia, as well as elected King of the Romans. At his father's death, besides the Imperial Crown, he also succeeded to the sole possession of the Austrian lands; for Maximilian established the right of primogeniture in his hereditary dominions. Rodolph, however, intrusted the Austrian administration to his brother, the Archduke Ernest, and took up his own residence for the most part at Prague. His pursuits indisposed him to take any active share in affairs of state. Although of an indolent temperament, and of a feeble will, which rendered him often the tool of others, Rodolph possessed considerable abilities, which, however, were chiefly applied to the idle studies of alchemy and astrology. The latter, which was dignified with the name of astronomy, incidentally proved of some advantage,

Accession of
Rodolph II.,
1576.

by leading him to patronize the eminent astronomers Kepler and Tycho Brahe.

Catholic
reaction in
Germany.

The bigotry of Rodolph II., and still more of his brother Ernest, formed a striking contrast to the tolerant spirit of their father Maximilian, and may be said to have laid the foundation of the war which in the next century desolated Germany during thirty years. The effects of the new reign were soon visible in Austria, then for the most part Lutheran. In 1578 Rodolph determined to celebrate Corpus Christi Day at Vienna with more than usual solemnity. As the long-drawn procession was passing over the Peasants' Market it was found necessary to remove a few stalls, when a tumult immediately arose, with cries of "To arms! we are betrayed!" At these menacing symptoms, the clergy and choristers abandoned the Host and fled; they were followed by the guards and halberdiers, and Rodolph found himself in the midst of an infuriated mob, from which he was protected only by the princes and nobles, who drew their swords and closed around him. This incident made a deep impression on the Emperor, whose education had imbued him with a Spanish dignity and stateliness. The suppression of Protestantism at Vienna was immediately resolved. Joshua Opitz, a Lutheran of the Flaccian schism, the most popular preacher in that capital, distinguished by his eloquent, but violent, sermons against the Papists, was ordered, together with his assistants in church and school, to leave Vienna that day, and the Austrian dominions within a fortnight. This measure was followed up by restraints on Protestant worship throughout Austria; and in the following year (1579) it was ordained that none but Roman Catholic teachers and books should be allowed in Austrian schools.

Bavaria.

A rapid reaction in favour of the Roman Church also took place in Bavaria after the accession of Duke William II., who succeeded his father Albert III. in 1579. William was a warm supporter of the Jesuits, and erected for them at Munich a college more splendid than his own palace. He employed for the furtherance of the Roman faith all that pomp and that love of art by which he was characterized; and in order to draw the public mind back to the ancient creed, those religious spectacles and processions were instituted which still subsist in Bavaria. At the dedication of the Jesuits' College a grand dramatic and musical entertainment was exhibited,

representing the combat of the Archangel Michael. Nothing could exceed the magnificence of the scenery and costumes; a choir of 900 voices chanted the progress of the action; and the multitudes shuddered with affright when they beheld the rebel angels hurled into the deep and undulating abyss of hell.¹ Duke William also instituted the procession which still takes place at Munich on Corpus Christi Day, but with diminished splendour and less characteristic appliances.

On the other hand, an attempt to extend Protestantism in Germany proved a failure; and its origin merited no better fate. Gebhard Truchsess of Waldburg, who at the age of thirty had become Archbishop and Elector of Cologne, while walking in a procession during the congress in that city, beheld at a window the Countess Agnes of Mansfeld, a daughter of that noble house at Eisleben which had befriended Luther. Agnes was of extraordinary beauty, but her family had fallen into poverty: Truchsess prevailed on her to live with him as his mistress. The brothers of Agnes, having learnt their sister's shame, accompanied by some armed followers, surprised the Elector in his palace at Bonn, and compelled him, by threats of death if he refused, to promise that he would marry Agnes. The first thought of Truchsess after this occurrence was to resign his archbishopric; but from this he was diverted by Counts Nuenar and Solms, and others of the nobility, as well as by the exhortations of Agnes. In the autumn of 1582 he openly professed his adherence to the Confession of Augsburg, and in the following February, in spite of an admonition from the Pope, he was married to Agnes by a Protestant minister. Gregory XIII. now fulminated against him a bull of excommunication, depriving him of all his offices and dignities; and the Chapter of Cologne, who had viewed with displeasure the secession of their Archbishop from the orthodox Church, although he had promised not to interfere with the exercise of their religion or to restrict them in the choice of his successor, proceeded to elect in place of Truchsess Prince Ernest of Bavaria, Bishop of Freising, who had formerly competed with him for the see. The troops of Ernest, assisted by some Spaniards lent to him by the Prince of Parma after the conquest of Zutphen, drove Truchsess from Cologne. Of the Protestant Princes of Germany whose

Deposition
of the
Elector
of Cologne.

¹ Zschokke, *Baierische Gesch.* B. iii. S. 150 (ed. 1816).

help he had sought, John Casimir of the Palatinate alone lent him some feeble aid. The deposed Elector retired into Westphalia and sent his wife to England to implore the interference of Queen Elizabeth. Agnes, however, incurred the jealousy and anger of the Queen by her supposed familiarity with Leicester, and was dismissed from Court. Truchsess then sought the protection of the Prince of Orange, and finally retired to Strassburg, where he lived sixteen years as dean, till his death in 1601, without renouncing his title of Elector.¹ For nearly two centuries after this event, the Chapter of Cologne continued to elect its Archbishops from the Bavarian family.

Diets of the
Empire.

Germany, almost isolated at this period from the rest of Europe, was the scene of a few political events of any importance. The Diets of the Empire were chiefly occupied with matters of internal police. That held at Frankfurt in 1577 published some regulations which exhibit in a curious light the manners of the higher classes of the Germans. The oaths and blasphemies of the nobles are denounced; the Electors and Princes of the Empire, ecclesiastical as well as secular, are alone authorized to keep buffoons, and at the same time forbidden to get drunk themselves or to intoxicate others. These regulations are accompanied with many more, respecting dress, the table, the rate of interest, monopolies, &c.

Sigismund
III. elected
King of
Poland.

The death of Stephen Bathory in December, 1586, having again rendered vacant the throne of Poland, Rodolph's brother, the Archduke Maximilian, proposed himself as a candidate. But the choice of the majority of the Electors fell upon the son of John, King of Sweden, by Catharine, a sister of the last Jagellon; and that young Prince ascended the throne with the title of Sigismund III. Maximilian, however, prepared to contest it with him, and entering Poland with a small body of troops, penetrated to Cracow, at that time the capital, to which he laid siege. But Zamoisky, Grand Chancellor of the Crown, illustrious by his learning and researches, as well as by his military exploits, who had embraced the party of Sigismund, compelled Maximilian to raise the siege; and in the following year (January 24th, 1588) defeated him in a battle near Bitschin in Silesia. Maximilian was soon afterwards captured in that town, and

¹ Menzel, B. iii. cap. ii.

was detained more than a twelvemonth prisoner in a castle near Lublin, till at length the Emperor Rodolph was obliged to obtain his liberation by paying a large ransom, and ceding to the Poles the Hungarian county of Zips, which had been formerly pledged to them by the Emperor Sigismund.

The Hungarians were at this time almost independent, though ostensibly Rodolph II. was represented in that country by his brother the Archduke Ernest. When, in 1592, Ernest was called by Philip II. to the government of the Netherlands, and Rodolph could not prevail upon himself to quit his retirement at Prague, the incompetent Matthias was sent into Hungary; as, of the other two brothers of the Emperor, Maximilian was employed in administering Inner Austria and Tyrol, while Albert was in Spain. The proceedings of the Jesuits and reactionary party, both in Hungary and Transylvania, occasioned the greatest discontent. After the election of Stephen Bathory to the Polish Crown, the government of Transylvania had been conducted by his brother Christopher, who, on Stephen's death was succeeded by his youthful son Sigismund Bathory, a person of weak character, and the mere tool of the Jesuits, by whom he had been educated. Soon afterwards, however, the Protestant party gained the ascendancy, and in 1588 the Jesuits were banished by the States of Transylvania, much against the will of Sigismund. On account of the constant border warfare with the Turks, the Emperor, the Pope, and the King of Spain naturally had much influence with Sigismund, as the only allies to whom he could look for assistance against the Osmanlis, whom he regarded with aversion, though he owed to them his throne. But these circumstances had not much effect on the state of parties in Transylvania till the breaking out of a regular war between the Turks and Hungarians in 1593.

The affairs of Turkey have been brought down in a former chapter to the death of Sultan Selim II. in 1574. The Grand-Vizier, Mahomet Sokolli, concealed the death of the Sultan, as he had previously done that of Solyman II., till Selim's son and successor, Amurath III., arrived at Constantinople from his government of Magnesia, to take possession of the throne (December 22nd, 1574). Amurath's first act was to cause five brothers, all mere children, to be strangled. The Janissaries had then to be conciliated by an augmented donative of fifty ducats a man, and costly gifts were dis-

Affairs of
Hungary.

Retrospect
of Turkish
history.

tributed among the great officers of state. Amurath III. was now about twenty-eight years of age. His person was small, his features good, his complexion pale and yellow from the baneful effects of opium. In his youth a favourable estimate was taken of his character; for though of a studious and somewhat melancholy disposition, he had not shown himself averse from, or incapable of, military achievements. But from these good qualities he rapidly degenerated after his accession, becoming avaricious, fickle, mistrustful, cowardly; and at length he wholly secluded himself in the seraglio.

The religious troubles in France tended to diminish the influence of that country with the Porte. The help of the Turks against the House of Austria was no longer necessary to France, while the Guises and the League were in close alliance with Philip II. On the other hand the Huguenots had secret dealings with the Porte, and Coligni sent several nobles of his party to Constantinople;¹ but it does not appear that these negotiations had any result. It may be remarked, however, that the Protestants were much more acceptable to the Turks than the Papists, as approaching more nearly to their own faith, which rejected with abhorrence any semblance of idolatry;² and it was, perhaps, partly from this cause that English influence made at this period so surprising an advance at Constantinople.

Towards the end of 1578 William Harebone, or Harburn, an English merchant, presented himself before Sultan Amurath III. with a letter from Queen Elizabeth, in which she besought the friendship of the Porte, and requested permission for her subjects to trade under their own flag; for although the English had opened a commerce in the Levant before the capture of Cyprus by Selim II., they had hitherto been obliged to sail in those waters under French colours. The Sultan did not vouchsafe an answer to this application; but Harburn, nothing daunted, opened private communications with the Grand Vizier, Mahomet Sokolli; and as the merchandize of England, and especially its metals, was much

¹ Brantôme, t. ix. p. 218.

² Thus the cadi of Chios remarked to James Palæologus in 1573: "Nos Lutheranos defendere solemus, quoniam melius de Deo sentire videntur et nobiscum parum dissentiunt; multum autem dissentiunt Papistæ, qui figuras et imagines faciunt Deo et illas colunt."—Reusner, *Epist. Turc.* t. iii. lib. xi. p. 143.

prized in Turkey, Harburn soon made great progress, in spite of the efforts of Germigny, the French ambassador to the Porte, to counteract him. Germigny, indeed, succeeded at first in getting a treaty cancelled which Harburn had effected in 1580, and which allowed the English to trade under their own flag;¹ but in May, 1583, Elizabeth's indefatigable ambassador obtained a rescript from the Sultan, granting English commerce in the Levant the same privileges as the French. A Turkey company had already been incorporated in London by royal charter in 1581. Sir William Monson² assigns the following reasons for England having embarked so late in the Levant trade: the want of ships, the danger from the Moorish pirates on the coast of Barbary, and the monopoly of the trade by the Venetians, whose argosies brought the merchandize of the East to Southampton. The last argosy which visited our shores was unfortunately wrecked near the Wight in 1587, and her valuable cargo lost.

In her negotiations with the Porte Elizabeth used the plea of religion, styling herself in her letter the protectrix of the true faith against idolaters (*veræ fidei contra idololatrias falso Christi nomen profitentes invicta et potentissima propugnatrix*). Indeed the English agents seem to have assumed an attitude of slavish submission towards the Porte which somewhat moved the contempt of the Turks; and the Grand Vizier Sinan Pasha derisively observed to the Emperor's ambassador, "that the English wanted nothing of being true Moslems except to raise the finger on high and cry *Esched*" (the formulary of faith).³ This was contrary to the practice of the Venetians, who in treating with the Porte had learned from experience that it was necessary to assume an air of dignity. Nevertheless, the advantages of trade, the interests of policy, and above all a common hatred of the Pope and the King of Spain, soon cemented the alliance between England and the Turks; though Harburn in vain tried to persuade them to attack the Spanish coasts at the time of the Armada.

Edward Burton was an able successor of Harburn as English ambassador to the Porte, and till his death, in 1598, very

¹ Zinkeisen, B. iii. S. 424.

² *Naval Tracts*, written in 1635, ap. Macpherson, vol. ii. p. 169.

³ Hammer, *Osman. Gesch.* B. iv. S. 208, Anm.

Negotia-
tions of
Edward
Burton.

much increased the influence of England in Turkey. He found a powerful friend in Seadeddin, the celebrated Turkish historian, minister, and general, whom during the Hungarian war he accompanied on the expedition against Erlau in 1596. The counsels of England now began to have weight even in the Divan. After the accession of Henry IV. to the throne of France, a rivalry had ensued between him and Elizabeth for the precedence of their flags in the Levant, in which Burton gradually prevailed; and at length the English flag instead of the French became the covering ensign of foreign vessels in that quarter. Henry IV. resumed the traditional policy of France to break the power of Spain with the assistance of the Osmanlis; but he could never obtain from them any effectual help. His abjuration of Protestantism filled the Porte with suspicion; and after the peace of Vervins he no longer wanted its aid. Henry, however, always maintained an honourable and dignified attitude towards the Sultan; he became the special guardian of the rights and liberties of the Christians in the East, as Francis I. had been before him; and he procured the restoration of the privileges of the monks of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.

War be-
tween the
Emperor
and Turks.

Of the Turkish relations at this period, however, the most important were those with Austria and Hungary. The truce concluded between Austria and Selim II. had been frequently renewed; yet the border warfare grew every year more bloody, and the relations with the Porte daily more precarious. In 1592 the Grand-Vizier Sinan Pasha was highly offended by an intercepted letter of Kreckwitz, the Imperial ambassador, in which the Vizier was denounced as the cause of the misunderstanding which had so long prevailed. While he was in this temper an event occurred which afforded a pretence to declare open war. Hassan, the Turkish Governor of Bosnia, having, in June, 1593, crossed the Culpa with 30,000 men, was defeated near Sissek with great slaughter and the loss of all his baggage and guns by only 5,000 Germans and Hungarians. Amurath could now no longer resist the counsels of his Vizier and the importunities of Hassan, and of two Sultanas who had lost their sons at Sissek, to wipe out this disgrace to his arms. War was declared against the Emperor at Constantinople, and Kreckwitz and his suite were thrown into prison. Sinan Pasha left Constantinople with an army in August, 1593, amid the tricks and howlings

of dervishes, carrying with him Kreckwitz in chains, who died upon the march. Crossing the Drave at Essek and passing Stuhlweissenburg, Sinan appeared before Veszprém, which surrendered October 13th. On the other hand, after the Turkish army had retired into winter quarters, the Imperialists gained a signal victory over the Pasha of Buda, November 23rd, which struck the Turks with consternation. During the winter the Archduke Matthias, who commanded the Imperial troops in the northern part of Hungary, received considerable reinforcements, and laid siege in the spring of 1594 to Gran, which, however, he was obliged to abandon. The Archduke Maximilian was not more successful in the south, while Sinan, after taking Tata and Raab, was repulsed at Komorn.

The ensuing campaign seemed to open under better auspices for the Emperor. The Diet, assembled at Ratisbon in 1594, had voted Rodolph large succours of men and money. His hereditary dominions, as well as Bohemia and Hungary, came forward with assistance; from other parts of Europe he received promises which were not fulfilled. But what principally alarmed the Sultan was the revolt from him of the three tributary provinces of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Transylvania, the Voyvodes of which, after either slaying or driving out the Turks, entered into an alliance with the Emperor. In Transylvania the young Prince Sigismund himself, influenced by the Jesuits and the Catholic party, was for Austria, while the greater part of the Protestants preferred the Turks for their masters; and, as since the breaking out of open war it became necessary that the province should declare for one side or the other, a *coup d'état* was resolved on. At a Diet held at Klausenburg, in August, 1594, some of the principal leaders of the Protestant party were seized and put to death, and a treaty was entered into with Rodolph, which was ratified at Prague, January 28th, 1595, and confirmed by the Hungarian Diet. The chief conditions were, mutual aid against the Turks, and the reversion of Transylvania to Austria in case Sigismund died without male heirs. The Jesuits now returned into the land, and ruled the weak-minded Sigismund more absolutely than ever. He even thought of entering a convent, and proceeded to Prague to entreat the Emperor to procure him a cardinal's hat. Rodolph, however, dissuaded him from these projects, and prevailed on him to

Progress of
the war.

return into Transylvania. The indifferent success of the campaign of 1594, and above all the revolt of the three provinces, filled Amurath with consternation, and, for the first time, he sent for the holy standard from Damascus, the palladium of the faithful in their contests with the infidels. Death, however, released him from his anxieties. Amurath III. died January 16th, 1595, and was succeeded by his son, Mahomet III. The death of the Sultan was concealed, as usual, till Mahomet could arrive from his government of Magnesia. He was the last heir of the Turkish throne who enjoyed before his accession an independent government; in future all the Sultan's children were educated exclusively in the Seraglio. The Janissaries had to be conciliated with a donative of 660,000 ducats, and it was also necessary to pacify a revolt of the discontented sipahis.

Death of
Amurath
III., 1595.

In spite of the holy standard, the campaign of 1595 was highly unfavourable to the Turks. Sinan, in attempting to gain possession of Wallachia, was driven back with great slaughter by Prince Michael the Voyvode. The Turkish arms were not more fortunate in Hungary. The Imperialists had now received some of the German contingents, the Pope and other Italian Princes had forwarded contributions in money, and a more able general, Count Mansfeld, who had been despatched from the Netherlands by Philip II., commanded the forces of Rodolph. In September, Mansfeld took the important town of Gran. Shortly after Vissegrad and Waitzen also yielded to the Imperialists, and the Turks lost several places on the Danube. So great was the alarm at Constantinople that prayers were offered up in the mosques for the success of the arms of the faithful, a step never resorted to except in cases of the utmost danger; and the unwarlike Mahomet III. felt himself compelled to revive the spirits of his troops by heading them in person. His departure was delayed by the death of his Grand-Vizier Sinan; but in April, 1596, he commenced with great pomp his expedition against Erlau, accompanied by his newly-appointed Grand-Vizier Ibrahim Pasha, and by Seadeddin, who occupied a conspicuous place in the council of war. The Imperialists did not attempt to arrest his march, which was directed by Belgrade, Peterwardein, and Szegedin on Erlau. A week sufficed for the capture of Erlau, when, in spite of the capitulation, the garrison of 5,000 men was cut down by the

Mahomet's
expedition
to Erlau.

Janissaries. The Archduke Maximilian, and Sigismund, Prince of Transylvania, now hastened with their forces to recover Erlau, and in October they met the Turks on the plain of Keresztes, where a bloody battle was fought which lasted three days. Victory seemed at first to favour the Christians. Emboldened by their success, they ventured, on the third day (October 26th), to attack the Turkish camp; but they were repulsed with great loss, and, being seized with a panic, took to a disorderly flight, in which 50,000 men are said to have been killed, and 100 guns and the military chest were captured by the Turks. Maximilian, who was one of the first to fly, escaped to Kaschau, and Sigismund with his force retreated through Tokay into Transylvania. Mahomet then marched back to Constantinople, which he entered in triumph. This signal defeat occasioned the greatest alarm and anxiety at Vienna, and, indeed, throughout Europe.¹

Death of
Mahomet
III., 1603.

The Sultan, however, did not derive that advantage from his success which might have been expected. In the campaign of 1597 nothing decisive was achieved, while that of 1598 was highly adverse to the Turkish arms: Raab, Tata, Veszprém, Tschambock, besides several fortresses, were taken by the Imperialists, and the operations of the Turkish Seraskier Saturdschi were so unfortunate as to cost him his dismissal and his life. Both sides were now exhausted, and eager to conclude a peace if satisfactory terms could be obtained. In 1599 the Grand-Vizier, Ibrahim Pasha, who commanded the Turkish forces in Hungary, made proposals to the Imperial general, Nicholas Palfy; but nothing was effected: the demands on both sides were too high, and the war was continued six years longer. We shall not, however, enter into the details of a struggle which was feebly carried on with varying success, and which gave birth to no events of decisive importance. Even the death of Mahomet III., December 22nd, 1603, had little effect on the war, except that it served still further to exhaust the resources of the Porte by the payment of the accustomed donative to the Janissaries. Mahomet was quietly succeeded by his son Achmet I., then hardly fourteen years of age. The renewal of the war between the Sultan and the Shah of Persia in 1603 tended still further to dispose the Porte to close the struggle

¹ Katona, t. xxvii. p. 324 sqq.

in Hungary; and the negotiations were facilitated by a revolution in Transylvania.

Sigismund
Bathory.

The weak and simple-minded Sigismund Bathory was persuaded in 1597 by the Jesuits, as well as by his wife—Maria Christina, daughter of Charles, Duke of Styria—who wanted to get rid of him, to cede Transylvania to Rodolph II., in exchange for the Silesian principalities of Oppeln and Ratibor, and a large pension. In the spring of 1598 Sigismund proceeded into Silesia, where he soon found that he had been deceived in the bargain which he had made; and before the end of August he returned to Klausenburg at the invitation of Stephen Bocskai, a Hungarian noble, and one of the leaders of the liberal and Protestant party in that country. A counter-revolution now took place. The Austrian commissioners who had been sent to take possession of Transylvania were seized and imprisoned; Sigismund took a new oath to the States that he would make no innovations in religion, and the Jesuits were again sent into banishment. But they soon recovered their influence. Sigismund was induced to relinquish his authority to his fanatical kinsman, Cardinal Andrew Bathory, and retired into Poland to live in a private station. At the same time his wife entered a convent at Hall in Tyrol, where she passed twenty-two years, the remainder of her existence. Cardinal Andrew Bathory having been recognized by the States as Prince of Transylvania, in 1599, the Emperor Rodolph commissioned his general, Basta, as well as Michael, Voyvode of Wallachia, to overthrow him, and the Cardinal was soon after killed by Michael's troops. Sigismund now regained for a short time possession of Transylvania, but in 1602 was once more compelled to abdicate, and never again appeared on the political scene. About eight years afterwards, having incurred the suspicion of the Emperor, he was summoned to Prague, where he soon after died in his forty-first year.

Stephen
Bocskai
King of
Hungary.

Stephen Bocskai now set up pretensions of his own, not only to the Principality of Transylvania, but even to the Crown of Hungary. In June, 1605, he entered into an alliance with the Grand-Vizier Lala Mohammed, commander of the Turkish army in Hungary, and assisted him in the campaign of that year, in which Gran, Vissegrad, Veszprém, and other places were taken by their united forces. Bocskai had already been invested with Transylvania, and on November 11th,

Lala Mohammed solemnly crowned him King of Hungary on the field of Rakosch, [presenting him at the same time with a Turkish sword and colours, in token that he was the Sultan's vassal. It would seem, however, that Bocskai had only been set up as a man of straw by the Turks, in order to obtain better conditions in the treaty of peace which was still negotiating between them and Rodolph II. The Archduke Matthias was first of all commissioned to treat with Bocskai, who was easily persuaded to renounce the Crown of Hungary; and by a treaty signed at Vienna (July 23rd, 1606) he was allowed to retain Transylvania, besides several places in Hungary. This was the prelude to another treaty with the Turks, concluded at Sitvatorok November 11th.

The PEACE OF SITVATOROK, which was to last twenty years from January 1st, 1607, made but slight alterations in the territorial possessions of the contracting parties; but it is remarkable for what may be called the moral and diplomatic concessions on the part of the Porte. It was arranged in the preliminaries that the Emperor should no longer be insulted with the title of "King of Vienna," but that both he and the Sultan should be treated with the Imperial title; and the diplomatic intercourse between the two nations was henceforth to be conducted on an equal footing. But a still more important concession was the abandonment by the Porte of the tribute hitherto paid by Austria; in consideration of which, however, the Emperor was to pay down, once for all (*semel pro semper*), a sum of 200,000 florins, besides making valuable presents.¹ Such an abatement of the haughty tone in which the Turkish Sultans had hitherto spoken betrays a consciousness of inward weakness. The Osmanlis had, indeed, now passed the zenith of their power, and had arrived at the limits of their conquests; yet their Empire still embraced an extent unparalleled since that of ancient Rome. In Asia, the Tigris and Mount Ararat separated the dominions of the Ottoman Sultan and the Shah of Persia; Bagdad, Van, and Erzeroum were Turkish governments; between the Black Sea and the Caspian, the Georgians, Mingrelians, and Circassians, though free, were tributary; the south and west coasts of the Black Sea, from the Caucasus to the Dnieper,

Peace of
Sitvatorok,
1607.

¹ The articles are in Katona, t. xxviii. p. 612 sqq.; cf. Zinkeisen, B. iii. S. 618.

Anatolia, Caramania, Armenia, Kurdistan, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine and Arabia obeyed the Sultan. In Africa he possessed Egypt, and was lord of the whole coast from the delta of the Nile to the Straits of Gibraltar, with exception of a few places held by the Spaniards. In Europe he ruled, besides Greece and its archipelago and the islands of Cyprus, Rhodes, and Chios, Thrace, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Wallachia, Moldavia, Transylvania, the greater part of Hungary, Bosnia, Servia, and Albania.

CHAPTER XXVIII

RELIGION AND COMMERCE

AT the peace of Vervins a century had elapsed since the French, by their incursions into Italy, had inaugurated the modern European system, and the result up to this time had been entirely in favour of their Spanish rivals. Spain had succeeded in seizing and retaining the two Sicilies and the Duchy of Milan, and, in spite of a wretched system of administration and the revolt of her provinces in the Netherlands, was still incontestably the leading Power of Europe. The Spanish infantry continued to retain their prestige; the conquest of Portugal helped to support the declining power and reputation of Spain; and we have beheld Philip II., towards the close of his long reign, aspiring, with perhaps even a better chance of success than his father, Charles V., to universal monarchy, by the conquest of England, and the reduction of France under his dominion by placing his daughter on the throne. These successes, however, were due, not to the strength of Spain, but to the weakness of her adversary. Torn by her religious wars and the anarchy of the League, France was unable to compete with a rival in which those disturbing causes were absent; and as soon as they ceased to operate she rapidly rose to her true position. The question of religion was also the mainspring of action in England and the Netherlands. Thus the Reformation forms the key to the political state of Europe at this period, and as its effects were to continue another half century, namely, down to the peace of Westphalia, it will be proper here to take a view of its progress, and the changes which it had effected.

About the middle of the sixteenth century Protestantism had established itself in the greater part of Europe. The doctrines of Luther had become the national religion of the Scan-

Rivalry of
France and
Spain.

Growth of
Protest-
antism.

dinavian kingdoms, of East Prussia, Livonia, and the northern parts of Germany. In Bavaria a large majority of the nobles had embraced them, and the same creed had made still greater progress in Austria, where it was computed that only one-thirtieth part of the population remained faithful to the Roman Church. In 1558 a Venetian ambassador reckoned that only one-tenth part of the whole German people were Roman Catholics.¹ In Poland, although the King himself was a Roman Catholic, many of his subjects had adopted the reformed doctrines. These also prevailed very extensively in Hungary, where, in 1554, a Lutheran had been elected Palatine. In Bohemia the large Hussite party already established could not but derive additional strength from the religious movement in Germany. Calvinism, still more inimical to Rome than were the doctrines of Luther, had from Geneva, its centre and stronghold, spread itself in all directions in Western Europe. In the neighbouring parts of Germany it had in a great degree supplanted Lutheranism, and had even penetrated into Hungary and Poland; it was predominant in Scotland, and had leavened the doctrines of the English Church. In France it had divided the population into two hostile camps. The Venetian ambassador Micheli relates that, immediately after the death of Francis II. in 1560, fifty preachers had issued from Geneva and settled themselves in various French towns. When Micheli paid a visit to that metropolis of Calvinism he was struck with astonishment at the veneration in which the great French reformer was held, and at the vast sums of money which he received in aid of the thousands who had taken refuge at Geneva.² In the Netherlands the doctrines of Calvin supplanted those of Luther. Tiepolo, another Venetian ambassador, says that all the Pope could reckon upon as sound and secure was Spain and Italy, with a few islands and the Venetian possessions in Dalmatia and Greece.³

The proceedings of the Council of Trent drew an insuperable line of demarcation between Catholics and Protestants; all idea of conciliation was abandoned, and the hostility of

¹ Ranke, *Popes*, vol. i. p. 401.

² *Relat. delle cose di Francia*, 1561; *ibid.* p. 17. During the reign of Henry II., 1,400 French families had established themselves at Geneva. Gaberel, *Hist. de l'Eglise de Genève*, t. i. p. 346.

³ *Relat. di Pio IV. e V.*, ap. Ranke, *ibid.* vol. i. p. 404.

the two parties stood out in bolder relief. The violent and impolitic conduct of Pope Paul IV. also tended to widen the breach. From his antipathy to the House of Austria, Paul broke with the Imperial party and drove the Emperor Ferdinand to cultivate the friendship of the Protestants. He acted in the same inconsiderate manner towards England. Instead of endeavouring to conciliate Queen Elizabeth and the English nation, Paul repulsed her ambassadors by his haughty demands, deprived Cardinal Pole of his legateship, endeavoured to re-establish Peter's pence, and annulled every alienation that had been made of Church property; nay, so blind was he to his own interests that he was even hostile to Philip II., the great prop of the Roman Catholic cause. But soon after his pontificate a reaction began in favour of the Roman Church. Shaken to her very centre by the Reformation, Rome found means to reclaim vast numbers of apostates, and to recover a large share of her former influence and power. As this Counter-Reformation is the most striking feature in the history of the latter half of the sixteenth century, and lay at the root of the Thirty Years' War, it may be worth while to inquire into the causes of so remarkable a reaction.

Among these causes we may note the reform effected in the Roman Curia itself. The first part of the sixteenth century had been characterized by a general relaxation of the discipline and authority of the Church; profane studies, literature and art, had usurped the place of religion; and Rome herself seemed to have forgotten her hierarchical character. But the conduct of Pius V., and of several exemplary Pontiffs who succeeded him, had a great influence in amending the lives of the Roman prelates. At the beginning of the century the Cardinals levied war on the Pope, or hatched conspiracies against him; while the Pope himself did not scruple to gird on the sword and to lead his armies to battle like any temporal Prince. But towards the close of the same era everything was done in the name of religion; a ceremonious behaviour began to prevail in the Roman Court, and the outward forms at least of piety and virtue were strictly observed. A similar reformation took place in other Roman Catholic countries. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the ancient monastic orders, the Benedictines, Dominicans, and Franciscans were vigorously reformed in France; and to such a

Reform in
the Curia.

degree were austerities carried among some of the religious communities of women, that fourteen Feuillantines are said to have died in one week. The celebrated Cistercian nunnery of Port-Royal was distinguished by its nocturnal vigils, its unbroken silence, and perpetual adoration of the Eucharist.¹ This was also the period of the reforms and labours of St. François de Sales in Savoy and of St. Theresa in Spain. At the same time the belief in miracles was revived and grew owing to the spread of marvellous tales. At San Silvestro an image of the Virgin spoke, and the desolate region which surrounded her shrine, such was the attraction of the miracle, was soon occupied with houses. Similar portents became frequent, and spread from Italy into other countries. By these and the like acts did the clergy recover their reputation, and with it a large share of their former power.

Progress of
the Jesuits.

But the chief instrument of Catholic reaction was the Society of Jesuits, to whose foundation we have already adverted.² The use that might be made of that body in retrieving the fortunes of the Church was quickly perceived; and Pope Julius III., soon after his accession, in 1550, conferred upon them vast privileges which roused the jealousy of the regular orders. They were empowered to grant degrees to competent persons whose poverty debarred them from studying at a University: a privilege which, by drawing to them the youths of talent among the lower classes, gave them the command of education, and enabled them to mould at an early age the pliant consciences of their pupils. Their method of instruction was most artful. They reduced study to a sort of mechanical process, whose results were quick but superficial; and even Protestant parents, dazzled by their success as teachers, confided to them their children.³ As they thus formed the principles of the younger portion of the community by means of education, so likewise the unreserved power conferred on them of granting absolution, enabled them to obtain the direction of the consciences of older persons, by assuming the functions of confessors. The absurd

¹ Félibien, *Hist. de Paris*, t. ii. p. 1339.

² The principal histories of the Jesuits are those of Orlandini, Maffei, and Ribadaneira. There is a good sketch in Schröckh, *Christliche Kirchengeschichte seit der Reformation*, B. iii.

³ See Michelet, *La Ligue*, p. 116.

quarrels of the Protestants among themselves, and particularly that concerning original sin, contributed not a little to the success of the Jesuits.¹

It was about the middle of the sixteenth century that the Society of Jesus began to spread themselves throughout Europe. In 1548 the Duke of Bavaria, William I., appointed to the chairs of theology, at Ingolstadt, the Jesuits Le Jay, a Savoyard, Salmeron, a Spaniard, and the celebrated Peter Canisius, of Nymegen. Hence Ingolstadt soon became of a like importance as a Catholic seminary, as Wittenberg for Lutheranism, or Geneva for Calvinism. Favoured by William I. and his son and successor Duke Albert III., the Jesuits gradually acquired the direction of all the Bavarian schools. They were likewise encouraged by the Emperor Ferdinand in Bohemia and Austria; and it was at the request of that Sovereign that Canisius, who did more than any man for his Society in Germany, drew up his *Summa Doctrinæ Christianæ*, from which he afterwards extracted his celebrated catechism. In 1551 Ferdinand established a Jesuit's college at Vienna, which he soon after incorporated with the University; in 1556 he removed some of them to Prague: and by that year their influence may be said to have extended over Bavaria, Tyrol, Franconia, Suabia, Austria, and the Rhenish lands, and also to have been felt in Hungary, Poland, Bohemia, and Moravia. In 1578, as related in the preceding chapter, Protestantism was utterly proscribed in the Austrian dominions. In Poland, Cardinal Hosias, Bishop of Ermeland, founded a college for the Jesuits at Braunsberg, in 1569. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Polish Jesuits nearly succeeded in effecting a revolution in Russia, and bringing that country within the pale of the Roman Church. After the murder of the legitimate heir, Demetrius Ivanowitch, and the usurpation of the throne by Boris Godenuff, a Muscovite Boyard, a false Demetrius appeared in Poland, the Jesuits took up his cause, procured his recognition in Poland and the help of an army, with which they entered Moscow after the death of Boris, who had died during the struggle. But the Muscovite nation soon recovered from its surprise; Demetrius was massacred, the Poles were expelled from Moscow, and the hopes of the Church of Rome entirely frustrated.

In Ger-
many.

¹ Menzel, B. iii. S. 43.

The Jesuits
in France.

It was not till a rather later period that the Jesuits obtained a footing in France, and at first in places remote from the capital. At Paris, as we have already related, they met with great opposition; the University, the Sorbonne, and the Parliament, who thought their privileges invaded, united in bitterly opposing them. By perseverance, however, they gradually succeeded in establishing themselves: and, in 1564, were allowed to become teachers. Three years later a magnificent college was erected for them at Lyons; in 1574 the Cardinal of Guise founded a Jesuit College at Pont-à-Mousson; and they also established themselves in other important towns. Their ranks at this time included many men of distinguished talent, and wherever they appeared the numbers of the Roman Catholics were observed to increase. In 1574 a Jesuit college was founded at Lucerne, in Switzerland, to which the Pope, the Catholic King, and the Guises are said to have contributed.

But although the religious struggle in France ended, as we have seen, in favour of the Roman Catholic Church, the authority of the Pope and of the Jesuits never attained to any extraordinary height in that country. The Jesuits succeeded, indeed, in procuring the revocation of the banishment inflicted on them after Châtel's attempt on the life of Henry IV.; that King even gave them the site for their College at La Flèche, whither his heart was carried after his murder; yet in general they continued to be unpopular among the French. In 1611 the inhabitants of Troyes opposed their establishment in that city, on the ground that they were fomenters of discord and division; in the same year, the University of Paris frustrated their attempt to teach publicly in their renewed college, and compelled them to content themselves with privately instructing, by means of salaried masters, the boarders whom they were permitted to keep in their house. In 1614 the Parliament of Paris ordered to be burnt a book of the Jesuit Suarez, entitled *Défense de la Foi Catholique Apostolique contre les erreurs de la secte d'Angleterre*, on the ground of its advocating the assassination of Sovereigns. It was remarked that, though other religious societies had produced assassins, the Jesuits were the only one which supported assassination systematically and on principle. The deed had a law of its own. It was not to be perpetrated at the arbitrament of a private individual, but it might be lawfully carried

out by the decree of an ecclesiastical tribunal; and this view the Jesuits founded on the 15th decree of the Council of Constance, which anathematized those only who attempted such an act without having first procured a mandate for it.¹

Altogether, therefore, the movement against the Reformation was not so successful in France as in Austria and Bavaria. The Edict of Nantes was, in fact, a compromise which still left the Huguenots a powerful party—a sort of *imperium in imperio*. They had their cautionary towns, an organized army, their representative charter, their assemblies; they had even their great seal, of which the device was Religion leaning on the cross, holding the sacred volume in her hand, and treading under foot an aged skeleton intended to represent the Romish Church. Thus they possessed an organization which enabled them, in times of disturbance, to break through all the checks and restraints which it had been endeavoured to place upon them. But the zeal and energy of their leaders had died out. Sully, Mornay, Lesdiguières, were either lukewarm or self-interested. Rohan, indeed, was animated with enthusiasm; but alone he could do nothing.

The
Huguenots.

The Gallican Church, however, without regard to Rome and in spite of the great Huguenot party, made France groan, like other Roman Catholic countries, under the burden of an enormous ecclesiastical establishment. Early in the seventeenth century the whole number of secular and regular ecclesiastics considerably exceeded a quarter of a million,² of which more than three-fifths were monks or nuns: viz. 35,600 *religieux rentés*, or monks belonging to foundations; 80,000 nuns of various orders; 46,500 mendicant friars, ancient and reformed; and 500 hermits. But while the *curés* or parochial clergy, had scarcely sufficient for the necessities of life, the mendicant orders, by virtue of their vow of poverty, dwelt in magnificent buildings, and consumed each a pound of meat and three pints of wine a day. Their *repas maigres*, or fast-day meals, were still more expensive; and it

Gallican
Church
statistics.

¹ “Non expectata sententia vel mandato judicis cujuscunque.”—Ap. Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, t. xv. p. 333.

² 266,936: an enormous proportion, considering the population at that time. See *Le nombre des Ecclésiastiques de France* in the *Archives Curieuses*, sér. 1, t. xiv.

was reckoned that the subsistence of each monk cost daily twenty sous.

Jesuits in
England.

It was not till 1580 that the Jesuits appeared in England. Dr. William Allen, early in the reign of Elizabeth, had founded an English Catholic seminary at Douai, and others were subsequently established at St. Omer, Rheims, and Rome. The pupils of these colleges were animated with the same savage spirit of murder. Against Queen Elizabeth their rage was inexhaustible, since, under her auspices, Protestantism had not only been firmly established in England, but also found her its chief protectress in other countries. The work of Saunders, *De monarchia visibili Ecclesiæ*, published at Louvain in 1571, was the bible of these fanatics. Saunders had been secretary to bloody Mary, and his book was written under the patronage of the Duke of Alva. It was in the year mentioned that the Jesuits Parsons and Campion returned to England, after which a great many penal laws were promulgated against that Society. Queen Elizabeth, in self-defence, was compelled to take a leaf out of her enemies' book, and England witnessed to some extent a persecution of the Catholics, of whom about two hundred were executed during her reign. It should, however, be recollected that they were Elizabeth's political enemies, that they were constantly endeavouring to deprive her of her kingdom, and even of her life, and that most of those who suffered in England were convicted of conspiracy.¹

Jesuitism
in the
Peninsula.

It may appear surprising that in a bigoted country like Spain the Jesuits should have obtained little or no influence; but, in fact, that very bigotry afforded small scope for their activity in that country; and Spain was inimical to the encroachments of Rome. Yet Spain had given birth to the founder of the Society, and produced an eminent patron of it in Francis Borgia, Duke of Gandia, great-grandson of the infamous Pope Alexander VI., who at last turned Jesuit himself, and eventually became third general of the Society. As a rule, however, the Jesuits in Spain were not native Spaniards, but converted Jews, and even became objects of suspicion to the government. St. Francis Borgia himself was prosecuted by the Inquisition as one of the mystics or *illuminati*, a sect which seems to have borne some resemblance to the English

¹ On this subject see Hallam's *Constitutional Hist.* ch. iii. and iv.

Quakers.¹ In Portugal, on the other hand, during the minority of Sebastian and the tutorship of his ecclesiastical guardians, the Jesuits, as we have already said, obtained a complete control. John III. had founded for them a college at the University of Coimbra, whence issued the greater part of those missionaries who spread themselves over Asia and Africa.

Neither Spain nor Italy,² however, was altogether exempt from the invasion of heretical doctrines. As early as 1519, Froben, the celebrated printer of Basle, forwarded some of Luther's tracts into Spain; and in 1527 several works of Erasmus were condemned, and prosecutions instituted against some of the most learned men in the country. By 1530 the doctrines of Luther had made such progress that the Council of the Supreme³ instructed the inquisitors throughout Spain to exercise the greatest vigilance: an injunction which led to domiciliary visits by the familiars of the Inquisition. The Spaniards themselves attributed the propagation of Lutheran opinions in Spain to their own learned men who had been sent abroad to confute them; an admission than which any more complimentary to Luther can scarcely be imagined, although, according to the testimony of Valdes, that reformer was regarded in Spain as a reprobate atheist, and it was deemed as meritorious to strangle a Lutheran as to shoot a Turk.⁴ The Spanish converts, like Valdes himself, were mostly persons of rank and education; for in Spain the reformed doctrines were chiefly imbibed from books, procured and read with danger. The Protestants of Béarn, indeed, who crossed the Pyrenees, spread their faith in Aragon, where it made most progress, though it also penetrated into the neighbouring kingdoms. It was reserved for Philip II. to crush the nascent heresy, almost the only instance in which his policy can boast of entire success. This triumph of bigotry shows that the power of opinion is not always a match for despotism and physical

The Re-
formation
in Spain.

¹ Llorente, t. v. p. 29.

² The Reformation found for a time a footing in Italy, and especially at Ferrara, under the auspices of Renée of France, who had married the Duke; but its progress in that country is not important enough to be detailed.

³ The chief tribunal of the Spanish Inquisition, consisting of the Inquisitor-General as president, and three counsellors, two of whom were Doctors of Laws.

⁴ Ap. McCrie, *Reform. in Spain*, p. 132.

force, when wielded with adequate means and a relentless will. Philip, who was supported by that savage Pope, Paul IV., published in 1558 a law by which death and confiscation of property were inflicted on anybody who sold, bought, read, or possessed a book prohibited by the Holy Office. In January, 1559, Paul authorized the Spanish Inquisition to hold inquests on archbishops, bishops, and other prelates suspected of heresy, and to send them to Rome; and in the following February, at the request of Philip, he published a brief authorizing the Council of the Supreme to deliver over to the secular arm—that is, to put to death—persons convicted of Lutheran opinions, even though they were not relapsed and were willing to recant, a proceeding contrary to all former practice, and against the standing laws of the Inquisition itself.¹ It was in the same year that the first *auto-da-fé* of Protestants was celebrated at Valladolid, which was soon followed by another in the same city, and two more at Seville. In these human sacrifices two hundred and eight victims appeared, of whom sixty-two were burnt and the rest condemned to minor punishments. About the same time Carranza, the Primate of Spain, was pursued by the Inquisition, a prosecution followed by that of eight bishops and twenty-five doctors of theology, most of whom were men of distinguished learning, and had assisted at the Council of Trent. The four *autos-da-fé* just mentioned were followed by others down to the year 1570, when the Reformation in Spain was pretty well suppressed; for though a few Protestants were subsequently burnt, the gleanings were scanty.² In the hands of the Spanish Government, the Inquisition, as we have said, became an instrument of State policy, and even of fiscal law; and thus, in 1569, the exportation of horses to France was brought under cognizance of the Council of the Supreme.³

A statistical account⁴ of the year 1616 shows the wonderful

¹ Ap. McCrie, *Reform. in Spain*, p. 256.

² The fires of the Inquisition were not, however, completely extinguished till 1781, when a *beata*, or nun, accused of heresy, was burnt at Seville, Nov. 7th. Llorente, t. ix. p. 231.

³ McCrie, p. 333.

⁴ In Jouveney, *Hist. Soc. Jes.*, ap. Schröckh, B. iii. S. 362. About 1623 started up an order of *Jesuitisse*, or female Jesuits, who imitated as nearly as possible the constitutions of their brethren, by whom, however, they were never recognized. They were abolished by Pope Urban VIII. in 1631. *Ibid.* p. 536.

progress of the Jesuits in about three-quarters of a century since their foundation. At that time they had thirty-two provinces—viz., Rome, Sicily, Naples, Milan, Venice, Portugal, Goa, Malabar, Japan, Brazil, Toledo, Castile, Aragon, Bætica (South Spain), Sardinia, Peru, Paraguay, New Granada, Mexico, Philippine Isles, France, Aquitania, Lyons, Toulouse, Champagne, Upper Germany, the Rhenish province, Austria, Flanders, Walloon Netherlands, Poland, and Lithuania. The order numbered 13,112 members, and possessed 23 professed houses, 372 colleges, 41 novitiates, and 123 residences. At this period the Jesuits could boast of many distinguished writers, amongst whom it may suffice to mention Petau, Sirmond, Schott, Tursellinus, Bellarmine, Suarez, Sanchez, and Mariana. The Jesuits had even penetrated to Constantinople early in the seventeenth century, whither they had gone with the design of overthrowing the Greek Patriarch, and bringing his flock under the dominion of Rome. A struggle ensued which lasted many years, and in which the ambassadors of the different Christian Powers to the Porte took part, the Jesuits being supported by the French and Austrian envoys, while those of England and Holland came to the aid of the Patriarch. In 1662, by a skilful application of 40,000 dollars, the Jesuits effected the deposition and banishment by the Porte of the Patriarch Cyrill, who was supposed to be a Calvinist; but on a change in the Ministry his restoration was soon after effected, principally through the intervention of the English envoy, Sir Thomas Roe. In 1628 the same minister, supported by the Mufti and the Ulemas, gained a complete triumph over the Jesuits, and effected their banishment from Constantinople; but Roe went back to England in that year, and the Jesuits soon after managed to return.¹

Provinces
of the
Jesuits.

The world-wide influence of the Jesuits appears from the preceding list of their provinces. It is their missionary labours beyond the bounds of Europe which show the brightest side of their character; for nobody can deny them the praise of courage and self-devotion. Xavier, the companion of Loyola, was the first and greatest Jesuit missionary. He proceeded to the East Indies, and founded in 1542 a college at Goa, which before the close of the century num-

Their
missionary
labours.

¹ On this subject, see Sir Thomas Roe's *Negotiations*, p. 758 sqq. and 779.

bered 120 members. The natives educated at this institution served as interpreters to the Jesuits in the East Indies and in Japan, where, in spite of the ingenious objections of the Bonzes, they succeeded in making many converts. No permanent good was, however, effected; for in less than a century after, the Dutch, in the interests of their commerce, helped in driving all the Christians from Japan. Xavier died on his voyage to China in 1552. Towards the end of the century, the Jesuit Ricci established a mission in that country which met with some partial success. King John III. of Portugal despatched Jesuit missionaries into Brazil in 1549, some of whom found their way into Paraguay. Aided by the children of some of the natives, whom they had taught Spanish, they penetrated by degrees into that savage country, introducing flocks and herds, teaching the Indians to sow and reap, to make bricks, to build houses, in short, all the essential arts of civilized life. The people of Paraguay became the devoted servants, nay, almost the slaves of the Jesuits; who, although they acknowledged the authority of the King of Spain, and paid as a sort of tribute a piastre a head for their subjects, ruled quite independently of the Spanish government. As the masters as well as the rulers of the Paraguayans, the Jesuits distributed to them the hemp, the cotton, the wool and other raw materials which they were to manufacture; they were allowed to possess neither money nor arms, although the priests exercised them in the use of the latter, and converted them into excellent soldiers. Thus the Jesuits were at once the founders, lawgivers, pontiffs, and sovereigns of this singular state. As the Roman Catholic religion thus began to spread abroad into distant countries, Pope Gregory XV. established in 1622, to superintend its diffusion, the *Congregatio de propaganda Fide*; and a few years afterwards Urban VIII. bestowed on it the building, or college, of the Propaganda (1627).

In
Paraguay.

Spain at
the end of
Charles V.'s
reign.

The bigotry and intolerance of Charles V. and Philip II. and of friars like Ximenes and Torquemada, were one cause of the subsequent decline of Spain; in the general policy and especially the wretched commercial system of those Sovereigns we must look for others. Towards the end of Charles V.'s reign, Spain seemed to have reached the zenith of her prosperity, and in the year 1543 we find that Emperor congratulating himself on the flourishing state of the Indian trade

whose operations were conducted at Seville. "Thanks be to God," he exclaimed, "it has ever increased and still increases daily."¹ But the possession of the New World was regarded as supplying the means for subjugating the Old; and the command of an apparently inexhaustible source of wealth only prompted Charles and his son to gratify their ambition or their bigotry by plunging into those expensive and ruinous wars which at length exhausted even the Spanish treasures: a result which a wretched fiscal policy contributed to hasten.

It was an evil hour when governments bethought themselves of increasing the wealth and prosperity of their subjects by fiscal regulations; yet the idea seems to have been coeval with the extension of commerce, and the Venetians, the first nation of modern Europe which enjoyed any considerable trade, were also among the first to invent restrictions, prohibitions, and monopolies. Nothing could be narrower and more selfish than the spirit of their commercial laws. Foreigners were subjected to double customs' duties; they could neither build nor purchase ships in Venetian ports; they were forbidden to be received on board a vessel of the State, or to contract a partnership with any subject of the Republic. Ingenious foreign artizans were encouraged to settle in the Venetian dominions, while native artizans and mechanics were forbidden under the severest penalties to emigrate. The nearest kinsfolk of such as attempted to do so and did not return when ordered, were thrown into prison; if the emigrant persisted in his disobedience, emissaries were employed to kill him!² It is impossible to carry further the selfish and cruel jealousy of trade. This system of prohibition and exclusion was imitated by other countries. Among these, Spain was remarkable. The ruin of Spanish trade and commerce was initiated under Charles V. In 1552 the export of cloth as well as of spun and combed wool was forbidden. In the same year the Cortes proposed that the importation of foreign silk should be allowed, and the exportation of home manufactured prohibited. It was also forbidden to export corn, cattle, and leather. Reversing the very rudiments of economical policy, exorbitant duties were laid on the exportation of manufactured articles, and upon

Commercial
jealousy
of the
Venetians.

Wretched
fiscal
system of
Spain.

¹ *Nueva Recopilacion*, ap. Ranke, *Fürsten und Völker*, B. i. S. 401.

² Statutes of the State Inquisition, Art. 26, ap. Blanqui, *Hist. de l'Economie Polit.* t. i. p. 268.

the importation of raw materials. We see in these regulations the germs of inevitable ruin, and one of the causes which drained the country of the specie acquired by so much cruelty and bloodshed. At the end of the sixteenth century Spanish pistoles were much more common in France than in Spain, because the French exported freely their corn and wine, while the Spaniards would suffer nothing to quit the country.¹ The consequences soon became apparent in the shutting up of the manufactories, so that in 1558 it was found necessary to relax the prohibition, at least on the Portuguese frontier.² But the blow was irremediable, and fashion soon put the seal to a ruinous system that had been initiated by ignorance. In 1560 we find complaints that silk and woollen stuffs, brocades, tapestry, arms, all came from abroad, although the materials for their manufacture were abundant in Spain; nay, that the foreigner actually made them of Spanish products and then set his own price on them. The use of foreign articles begat a liking for them, which became a fashion. No better silk could be produced than in Granada and Murcia, yet that of Italy and China was preferred. English jackets, Lombard caps, German shoes, Dutch linen, Antwerp tablecloths, Brussels tapestry, Flemish cabinet ware, became all the vogue. People appeared by day in Florentine brocade, and slept at night under outlandish bed-hangings. France supplied the children of Spain with their toys, her monks and nuns with their rosaries. She was dependent on foreigners even for the materials of war: it was necessary to fetch wood and gunpowder from Flanders, metal and men to cast it from Italy; for Spain had no cannon foundries of her own.

Other circumstances which militated against commerce in Spain were the idleness, pride, and bigotry of the Spaniards. The nation was divided into two classes, between which there was a continual jealousy: the *Hidalgos*, or nobles, and the *Pecheros*, or persons employed in trade and agriculture. The *Hidalgos* enjoyed peculiar privileges, and are expressly named as entitled to favour by Ferdinand and Isabella, "because through them we achieved our conquests."³ This class would have deemed itself disgraced by any other profession than

¹ Forbonnais, *Recherches sur les Finances de France*, ap. Twiss, *Progress of Political Economy in Europe*, p. 41.

² See Ranke, *Fürsten und Völker*, B. i. 401 ff.; Twiss, *ibid.* p. 6.

³ *Nueva Recopilacion*, ap. Ranke, *Fürsten und Völker*, S. 399.

that of arms. They were regarded as the pith and marrow of the nation; they filled all the offices of state; a municipal town would have been affronted by the appointment of a trader to be its *corregidor*; the Cortes of Aragon would admit no member who had been engaged in commerce. As neither the house, the horse, the mule, nor the arms of a *Hidalgo* could be seized for debt, nor his personal liberty be infringed, nor taxes be imposed upon him, everybody naturally wished to belong to an order which enjoyed so large a share of favour; and so many claims were consequently made to the privileges of the *Hidalguia*, that, although the tribunals set apart every Saturday for the examination of them, it was often found insufficient. The interest of money being high in Spain, if a *roturier* could scrape together some 7,000 ducats, which would yield an income of about 500, he settled it on his eldest son as a *majorat*, or patrimony. The son of a *ci-devant* farmer or shopkeeper now considered himself a noble, and dubbed himself *Don*; while his younger brothers began to be ashamed of their callings, and wanted the same title. Those who had no chance of attaining to such a rank, often turned their views towards a convent; where, if they could not gratify their pride, they might at least indulge their idleness. Hence the number of convents increased enormously in Spain. As the tradesman aped the noble, so the noble aped the King; and because Philip II. had founded the Escorial, so the grandees thought it a fine thing to have a monastery on their estates; convents rose on every side and candidates to fill them were always forthcoming. These institutions not only offered an easy, idle life, but also secured a certain degree of respect and importance. Philip III. and his consort founded even more convents than Philip II.; and in the reign of the former it was computed that Spain contained 988 nunneries, all numerously filled; that there were 32,000 friars of the Dominican and Franciscan orders alone; and that the clergy in the two dioceses of Pamplona and Calahorra amounted to 20,000.¹ A consequence of this state of society was that even the little commerce that remained in Spain fell mostly into the hands of foreigners. The financial embarrassments of Charles V. led him not only to give to Germans and Italians a monopoly of the Indian trade as

¹ Davila, *Felipe III.* ap. Ranke, *ibid.* p. 415.

Mono-
polies of
foreigners.

security for their advances, but even to allow them to encroach upon the birthright of his Spanish subjects by engrossing the trade and commerce of the interior. The Fuggers and other great foreign houses to whom Charles was under obligation obtained commercial privileges that were denied to born Spaniards, such as that of exporting prohibited articles, and others of a similar kind. By degrees, these intruders monopolized not only the higher branches of commerce, but even the smaller handicraft trades; and in 1610 it was computed that there were 160,000 foreigners settled in Castile alone, of whom 10,000 were Genoese.¹

Exorbitant
taxation.

In the absence of an adequate revenue from trade the Spanish government was compelled to lay on very burdensome taxes. In 1594 the Cortes complain that a capital of 1,000 ducats paid annually 300 to the King, so that in the course of three or four years the whole of it would be swallowed up. Yet people, they said, instead of engaging in commercial enterprises, lived on their capital as long as it would last. Rents were low, yet no farmers could be had; they were either emigrating or else shut up in prison. Scarcely a fifth part of the wool formerly used was now manufactured; whence, as well as through the heavy tax on that commodity, the flocks also began to be greatly diminished. Agriculture and pasturage, manufactures and commerce, drooped together; every town in the land was beginning to be depopulated; the country was going to ruin! Such is a picture of Spain at the close of the sixteenth century, after a hundred years' possession of the treasures of the New World, not drawn from the descriptions of historical writers, but taken from an official document of the Cortes.²

Bad finan-
cial system.

But although the taxes were enormous they brought comparatively little into the royal treasury, the greater part of the produce being swallowed up by the expenses of collection. This abuse was one of the consequences of the sale of offices. As every place was venal, it followed that Philip II. was most unfaithfully served; and his officers indemnified themselves for their outlay by impounding what passed through their hands. Another evil was, that while the taxes were so high and so badly collected, they were spent out of the country. The government had to procure its necessities abroad; its

¹ Ranke and Twiss, *ubi supra*.

² *Memorial de las Cortes de 1594*, ap. Ranke, *ibid.* S. 412.

principal creditors were foreigners; the money once withdrawn from Spain never returned, owing to its absurd fiscal system, and thus the country became every year more and more exhausted. Already in 1540, Charles V., the master of the treasures of the New World, had coined a large quantity of base gold crowns to supply his necessities. So great continued to be the drain of specie in order to purchase foreign manufactures that, in 1603, Philip III. was advised by Lerma to issue a royal edict raising the nominal value of copper money almost to an equality with that of silver.¹ All these evils were aggravated by the impolitic nature of the wars entered into by Philip II. By his quarrel with the Netherlands, besides the expense it entailed, he had deprived himself of one of his most productive sources of revenue;² yet he did not even pursue that war in a manner which might have insured its success, but frittered away his means in chimerical projects in France.

Spain, however, may perhaps be said not so much to have declined as to have returned to the normal condition from which it had been forced by a series of extraordinary events; the union of the Crowns of Castile and Aragon; the reduction of the Moors; the wonderful discoveries in America; and the enormous accumulation of power in the hands of the House of Austria. All these advantages, which by able rulers might have been developed into a permanent system of power, were thrown away by the absurd and reckless mode of government which we have just described, and Spain returned to the condition depicted by the Venetian Navagero in his *Viaggio* in 1526.³ Even Catalonia is described by that writer as then ill-peopled and little cultivated; Aragon was for the most part desolate; in Castile the traveller found extensive tracts of desert, with now and then a *Venta*, commonly uninhabited, and resembling rather a caravansary than an hotel.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, a little band of original thinkers arose in Calabria, who were the first to promulgate any just notions on the subject of political economy.

Predictions
of Campa-
nella.

¹ Blanqui, t. i. p. 282; Gonsalez Davila, ap. Watson, *Philip III.* vol. i. p. 191.

² The average produce of the American mines during the reign of Philip II. was 11,000,000 ducats (Humboldt, *Essai sur la N. Espagne*, t. iii. p. 428), and the war in the Netherlands cost him 7,000,000 ducats annually (Motley, *Rise of the Dutch Rep.* ii. 518).

³ Apud Ranke, *Fürsten und Völker*, B. i. S. 397 f.

The chief among these were Thomas Campanella and Antonio Serra, who had both been engaged in an attempt to rescue Calabria from the Spanish yoke in 1598. From the depths of a Neapolitan dungeon the friar Campanella addressed to Philip III. of Spain a remarkable prediction of that country's decline. The Spaniards, he observed, who so haughtily keep aloof from other people, who neglect agriculture and commerce, and esteem only the profession of arms, will soon exhaust themselves; they will never be able to recover their losses, and their wealth will pass away into the hands of the foreigner. Already the most useful arts of life languish in neglect; and, without manufactures, agriculture, or trade, how can any people hope to prosper? So indolent are the Spaniards that they do not even deign to record the great actions which they achieve. Campanella reviews and condemns the system of taxation; advises the encouragement of navigation, because the key of the ocean is the key of the world; recommends the equality of civil laws; the accession of all classes to power; the encouragement of art and manufacture, as things of more real value than mines of gold and silver. And while he thus proclaims the approaching ruin of Spain, the prophetic monk announces in glowing terms the renovation of the world through the wonderful discoveries of science, and the irresistible progress of human liberty and knowledge.¹ In 1613, Antonio Serra, then also in a Neapolitan dungeon, addressed to the Spanish Viceroy Lemos a work on the methods of procuring the precious metals in countries which do not possess mines, in which true principles of trade are first laid down. Ruin stole on Spain with a more rapid stride than even Campanella might have anticipated. Between the years 1600 and 1619 the peasantry in the diocese of Salamanca had decreased from 8,384 to 4,135, or more than one-half, and depopulation was going on at the same rate in other parts of Spain.² The most fertile fields were left unploughed, the houses were everywhere dilapidated and decayed. The first Cortes of Philip IV.,

¹ The treatise of Campanella, *De Monarchia Hispanica*, has gone through many editions, and was translated into English by Chilmead, with a preface by the celebrated William Prynne, 1659. Serra's tract is entitled *Breve trattato delle cause che possono far abbondare li regni d'oro e d'argento, dove non sono miniere*. The writers of this school are described by Botta, *Storia d'Italia*, lib. xv. Cf. Twiss, *Progress of Political Economy*, lect. 1.

² Davila, *Felipe III.* an. 1619, ap. Ranke, *ibid.* S. 417.

who ascended the throne in 1621, complain that if things went on in their present course there would soon be no labourers for the field, no pilots for the sea; people would no longer marry, the nation would become extinct, the clergy alone surviving without a flock! The chief cities, they remark, are filled with beggars; whole families abandon house and home and adopt mendicity as affording the only chance of support. Yet, though they saw and felt these evils, so blinded were the Spaniards with bigotry, so utterly unconscious that it was one of the chief sources of their misery, that these very Cortes could suggest no better remedy than to change the patron saint! Their proposition to hand over Spain to the protection of St. Teresa de Jesus was, however, opposed on the ground that their former patron St. Iago might take offence, "under whose protection they had seen the whole world at their feet, and the nation enlightened by science and virtue!"¹

The ancient maritime commerce which the Catalans had shared with Genoa and Venice partook in the general decay. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the trade of Barcelona was still flourishing, and does not then appear to have been much injured by the Portuguese discoveries. That city prided itself on a saying of Charles V., that he deemed it more honourable and important to be Count of Barcelona than to have received the Roman Crown. In 1529, however, Charles fitted out his last fleet from the remnant of the Catalan marine. Ten years more and Barcelona had a consul neither at Tunis nor Alexandria; commerce with Constantinople and the Levant was a thing to be no longer contemplated. The new route of ocean commerce was one of the causes of this decline; a still more direct one was the predominance of the Turkish navy in the Mediterranean after the victories of Hayraddin Barbarossa over the Spanish and Venetian fleets in the Ionian Sea in 1538, the alliance between Sultan Solyman and Francis I., and the settlements of the Mahometans on the coast of Africa.

Catalan
trade.

France, like Spain, was also suffering from an erroneous system of political economy introduced by Birago, the *Garde des Sceaux* and Chancellor of Catharine de' Medici, before whose time the trade of France seems to have been unfettered. By birth a Milanese, Birago had adopted the prohibitive and

Commercial
system of
France.

¹ *Cortes primeras de Felipe IV.* ap. Ranke, *ibid.* S. 417 f.

protective theories of Venice and other Italian cities, though his regulations were somewhat better than those observed in Spain, and were intended to promote the manufactures of France. He discountenanced only the exportation of raw materials (*matières premières*) and the importation of manufactured articles; a system which from this time forward plays a great part in the laws and policy of France.¹ Thus the export of wool, flax, hemp, etc., was forbidden, and on the other hand the importation of woollen and linen cloths, gold and silver lace, velvet, satin, arms, tapestry, etc. Drugs and spices could enter only at certain ports, as Marseilles, Rouen, Bordeaux, and La Rochelle. These laws were accompanied with others regulating the prices of articles. Special commissions of notables were appointed in every town to assess the price of victuals, cloths, and other goods, as well as to settle the rate of labourers' wages. This injudicious meddling had the same operation as in Spain, though not to the same extent, of depressing the trade and industry of the nation. At the beginning of the seventeenth century French manufactures had much deteriorated. France had at one time the reputation of making the best cloth in the world, both for dye and texture, but it had now entirely lost its character. The trade in scarlet cloth exported to Turkey, which in the time of Francis I. had been very large, had been entirely lost. The Turkey trade was now carried on by the French with ready money only. The author of the *Avis au Roi*,² published in 1614, complains that Marseilles alone sent annually to Turkey seven million crowns of silver, and attributes to this cause the scarcity of that metal in France; what little there was being mostly foreign coin, and of baser alloy than the French. The chief cause of the great drain of money in that direction was that France still imported her spices, drugs, and cottons from Turkey instead of procuring them from the East Indies, either through the Amsterdam Company, or by establishing a company of her own. Other manufactures, as that of leather, had also deteriorated; and although glass had long been used in France, it was only recently that it had begun to be made there. As in Spain, the caprice of

¹ See Isambert, *Recueil d'anciennes Lois Françaises*, t. xiv. p. 241.

² In the *Archives Curieuses*, 2^{de} sér. t. i. On the trade of France at this period, see also Laffemas, *Hist. du Commerce de France*, *ibid.* 1^{re} sér. t. xiv.

fashion had also proved injurious to trade. The French gentry disdained to wear articles of home manufacture, and procured instead, at an extravagant price, the rich cloths and silks of Venice and Genoa; while the inhabitants of those towns themselves went very simply clad. The Parisians, however, were already distinguished for their taste in manufacturing articles of domestic luxury, and the silver plate made in that capital was in great demand throughout the world. But, on the whole, commerce drooped, and what little existed was mostly in the hands of aliens. Commercial pursuits were not regarded with favour by the higher classes, and the French gentleman, like the Spanish hidalgo, considered arms to be the only honourable profession. The decay of trade was aggravated by the want of good internal communications. In consequence of the badness of the roads, merchants were in many places compelled to send their goods thirty or forty leagues round, a circumstance which had caused the ruin of many towns. The rates levied for the maintenance of such roads as existed were often diverted to other purposes; and fraudulent bankrupts and other dishonest persons sometimes took advantage of the neglected and unguarded state of the highways to pretend a robbery or an accident, and thus to defraud their creditors. When Henry IV. was firmly established on the throne, Sully turned his attention to the state of the roads, made them more direct, and planted their sides with elms; which, however, were uprooted by the ignorant populace. The scheme of joining the Mediterranean and the ocean by means of a canal was also agitated in Henry's reign, and appears to have been suggested in a letter of Cardinal Joyeuse to the King.¹ The plan was subsequently discussed in the council of Mary de' Medici, "but," says Richelieu, "the enterprise was too great for the times, nor was there anybody who cared enough for the commerce and riches of France to support it."² The execution of that useful and magnificent work was reserved for the reign of Louis XVI. Sully, however, began the canal of Briare to join the Seine and Loire; a work not completed till the reign of Louis XIII.

France was saved by its agricultural wealth and by the care

¹ *Archives Curieuses*, 2^{nde} sér. t. i. p. 12, ed. note. On the state of trade, finance, etc. under Henry IV., the work of M. Poisson is of great authority.

² *Mémoires*, t. i. p. 179.

Adminis-
tration of
Sully.

of Sully, who, though he paid little attention to commerce, and indeed strangely regarded foreign trade and home manufactures as sources of impoverishment,¹ was careful to develop the natural resources of France, and to restore its financial system to a sound and vigorous condition. Giovanni Botero, a Piedmontese, who wrote towards the end of the sixteenth century, remarks that France possessed four magnets which served to attract the wealth of other countries: its corn, which helped to supply Spain and Portugal; its wine exported to England, Flanders, and the Baltic; its salt, manufactured on the shores of the Mediterranean and the ocean; and its hemp and cloth, in demand at Lisbon and Seville, for the sails and cordage of the Portuguese and Spanish shipping.² The breeding of cattle, however, does not seem to have kept pace with the progress of agriculture; horses, in particular, it was found necessary to import from Turkey, Italy, Spain, England, Germany, and other places. Hence, although France had gone through nearly half a century of civil wars, carried on in the name of religion, which to a great extent brought back the middle ages, she was nevertheless, from her natural resources, in a much more flourishing condition, and enjoyed better future prospects at the beginning of the seventeenth century than Spain, in spite of the vast colonial possessions of the latter country, the internal peace which had reigned in it, and the absolute authority acquired by its Sovereigns. This last advantage, so far as foreign affairs are concerned, was the only thing yet wanting to render France more than a match for Spain in that rivalry between the two nations which will hereafter occupy so much of our attention. After the peace of Vervins and the Edict of Nantes, the old struggle between the French Crown and the French nobles still remained to be renewed. It was necessary that France should become a powerful monarchy before it could be a great nation, and from this period it was the constant aim of the government to centralize the power of the King; an object not thoroughly attained till the reign of Louis XIV.

Want of
centraliza-
tion.

The very conditions on which Henry IV. had made his peace with the heads of the League presented an obstacle to this centralization. He had been forced to purchase their sub-

¹ Blanqui, *Econ. Polit.* t. i. p. 357.

² Botero, ap. Macpherson, vol. ii. p. 197.

mission with governments, fortresses, and money, thus creating a new class of powerful vassals, almost as formidable as those feudal ones which it had been the constant aim of Louis XI. to control and humiliate. Although the twelve great governments were of royal delegation, yet the holders of them were often obeyed by the inhabitants of these provinces in preference to the King. In 1599, when Henry IV. was troubled by the machinations of the Spanish Court, the Duke of Montpensier insulted him with the proposition that Governors should be allowed to hold their provinces as proprietors, doing only liege homage to the Crown; and he assured the King that he would thus always be provided with the means of raising an army.¹ To check the power of the Governors, Henry sometimes appointed lieutenant-generals in the provinces; but these officers became sometimes as formidable as the Governors themselves. The Court had also begun to oppose the old hereditary aristocracy by another kind of nobles more dependent on the Crown, that of the "Dukes and Peers" (*la duché-pairie*) created by letters-patent: an order which pretended to the first rank of nobility. At the accession of Henry III. there had been only eight such *duchés-pairies*; when Henry IV. ascended the throne there were eighteen, and the Bourbons in every reign created new ones.²

But there was also a class of lower nobles, having the command of a fortress or two, who could set the royal authority at defiance. As the theory and practice of engineering and fortification were then in their infancy, the King might be bearded by the commandant of a single fortress, provided he had a devoted garrison; while a confederation of three or four such commanders might make the Sovereign tremble on his throne. France was covered with such places. The fortress called *Le Castellet*, which commanded the town of Château-Renard, affords a specimen of one. The walls were four and a half *toises* thick, with many casemated chambers, and a subterranean passage running through the whole building. It contained dungeons, magazines, a well, windmills for grinding corn, and an oven to convert it into bread; while for its defence it was stored with battering cannon and falconets, gunpowder and ammunition of all descriptions.³ Richelieu caused

Manners of
the French
nobles.

¹ Anquetil, *Intrigue du Cabinet*, t. i. p. 18 sq.

² Sismondi, *Hist. des Franç.* t. xv. p. 142.

³ Anquetil, *ibid.* t. ii. p. 174 note.

Fury of
duelling.

most of this kind of castles to be dismantled after the taking of La Rochelle. The holders of such places, and indeed the nobility of France in general, were for the most part grossly illiterate, priding themselves only on their prowess and feats of arms, which were frequently exhibited in sanguinary duels. The Constable, Henry de Montmorenci, who died in 1614, and was reputed one of the most perfect cavaliers of his time, was so illiterate that he could scarcely write his name. Henry IV. was bent on repressing the practice of duelling, and in 1602 he published an edict declaring guilty of high treason, and consequently amenable to capital punishment, whosoever should be engaged in a duel either as principal or second. But this law proved too severe to be executed; and between 1601 and 1609 no fewer than 2,000 gentlemen were killed in duels!¹ In the latter year Henry published a milder edict, referring all persons who had been affronted to himself to decide whether a duel could be permitted. Whoever sent or accepted a challenge without such authority was to lose his right of reparation, and to be deprived of all his offices and employments; and he who killed his adversary in such an unlicensed duel was to be punished with death without sepulture, and his children were to be disgraced for a term of ten years.²

Influence of
Henry IV.

In the state of disorganization in which France was left by the civil wars, and in the midst of that rude and insolent nobility, she was fortunate in possessing such a King as Henry IV. and such an administrator as Sully. With all his faults, Henry did not forget his kingly office, and even the spell of the charming Gabrielle was powerless to resist the calls of duty and the stern admonitions of Sully. To repress the disorders of the nobility, which had been encouraged by Henry III., he told his nobles that they must accustom themselves to live on their own estates, without recourse to the royal coffers, or oppressing their own vassals with a thousand robberies and extortions; and he advised them, as peace was

¹ Fontenai-Mareuil, ap. Martin, t. x. p. 469. The Memoirs of the period and the works of Brantôme abound with accounts of duels. The celebrated one between Jarnac and La Châtaigneraie in 1547, terminated by the *coup de Jarnac*, has become classical in French history. Michelet has devoted two chapters to a most graphic description of it. *Guerres de Religion*, ch. i. and ii.

² Isambert, t. xv. p. 351.

now restored, to return to their homes and look after the cultivation of their lands.

Henry's counsellor Maximilian de Béthune, Baron Rosni and afterwards Duke of Sully, was precisely the man capable of helping him in the reorganization of France. The stoical manners of Sully were little calculated to gain friends. He was rude, obstinate, proud, self-interested, but he had displayed great financial ability, and Henry saw in him the very man for the conjuncture. All the King required of him was that he would bestow as much care on the royal revenue as he had done on his own; nor cared to inquire whether his minister made his own fortune at the same time with that of the State. Rosni did not indeed belong to that order of statesmen who forget themselves. His income was 200,000 livres, and he possessed a couple of millions in trinkets.¹ His rough and somewhat brutal manners served to stem the opposition he encountered. At the command of the King he had undertaken in the summer of 1596 a sort of financial voyage of discovery throughout France; when, armed with unlimited powers, he suspended the greater part of the officers of finance, examined their accounts for the last four years, and brought to the King seventy cart-loads of silver, amounting to half a million crowns, the fruits of his researches. Such was the rapacity of the *traitants*, or farmers of the revenue, that of 150 millions levied in taxes, scarce thirty found their way into the royal treasury.² Besides putting an end to the thefts of the financiers, Sully also repressed the extortions of the Governors of provinces. He had found the State charged with a debt of nearly 300 million francs, and having a disposable revenue of only from seven to nine millions; in 1610, after a lapse of twelve years, one-third of this debt had been paid off, the net revenue had been doubled, and now yielded sixteen millions, exclusive of four millions arising from a better management of the royal domains, and other sources; and the King had at his disposal a reserve of more than twenty millions, three-fourths of which were deposited in specie at the Bastille.³

Sully as a financier.

By the wise and energetic measures of Sully, France was saved from that ruin which menaced Spain, and began rapidly

¹ Ranke, *Franz. Gesch.* B. ii. S. 80.

² Blanqui, *Hist. de l'Econ. Polit.* t. i. p. 352.

³ Martin, t. x. p. 446 sq.

Comparison
of European
capitals.

to improve. Giovanni Botero, the Piedmontese writer before referred to, says that France was in his time the greatest, richest, and most populous of all European Kingdoms, and contained fifteen million inhabitants. Paris, with a population of 450,000 souls, was, with the exception, perhaps, of Moscow, the largest capital in Europe. The weak and profligate Henry III., by making that city his constant residence, had contributed much to enlarge and improve it. The earlier Kings had preferred their castles on the Loire; Francis I. had commonly resided in the neighbourhood of Paris; Henry II. had held his Court somewhat more frequently in the capital; but Charles IX. had been mostly banished from it by the religious wars.¹ According to the Italian writer whom we have just cited, the three European cities of the first rank and magnitude were, at that time, Moscow, Constantinople, and Paris. London could only claim a second rank, with Naples, Lisbon, Prague, Milan, and Ghent; each containing some 160,000 inhabitants; whence Botero too hastily infers that England, Naples, Portugal, Bohemia, Milan, and Flanders were States of equal magnitude and power. The size of the capital is not always a criterion of the strength of a Kingdom; but Botero's inference will show the estimation in which England was then held by foreigners. Spain certainly was, or had been, the leading nation of Europe; yet that country did not contain any city even of such magnitude as these last; a circumstance owing partly to its being made up of several small realms. The chief cities were those in which ancient Kings and Princes had held their seats; as Barcelona, Saragossa, Valencia, Cordova, Toledo, Burgos, Leon. Madrid was increasing through the residence of Philip II.; but the cities to which a Spaniard could point with most pride were Granada, the ancient capital of the Moorish Kings; Seville, enriched by being the seat of the American trade; and Valladolid, which had long been the residence of the Castilian Kings. In Italy, Rome owed its splendour to the residence of the Pope; Milan and Venice were stationary, if not declining, and were no larger than they had been; Cracow and Wilna were the two chief cities of Poland; in Russia, besides Moscow, Vladimir and Great Novgorod.²

¹ Ranke, *Franz. Gesch.* B. i. S. 376.

² Botero, ap. Macpherson, ii. p. 194 sq.

England, under the rule of Elizabeth and her able ministers, was, at the period we are surveying, fast rising in the scale of nations, though the population was then perhaps hardly more numerous than that now contained in the capital. Meteren, the Flemish historian,¹ who long resided in London, describes the English as being indolent, like the Spaniards, instead of laborious like the French and Hollanders, fond of dress, field sports, and good living. The more ingenious handicrafts were exercised by foreigners, nor did the natives even cultivate the soil to the extent which they might; though England at that time exported, instead of importing grain. The true principles of commerce were at first ill-understood in England as in other countries, though perhaps not to so great an extent; and she was the first to improve upon them in practice. While statesmen, like Sully, harboured the popular prejudice against the exportation of gold and silver, the English East India Company, at its first establishment in 1600, had obtained permission to export annually £30,000. It was still held, indeed, that the precious metals were the sole true elements of wealth, and that the employment of them abroad was wholesome and legitimate only when the commodities procured with them should realize in foreign markets a still larger amount, and thus raise a balance to be paid in specie. By degrees, however, juster notions began to prevail; it was at length discovered that gold and silver are nothing but commodities, and that the circulation of them, like that of any other article, should be unrestricted. These ideas at length made their way into the House of Commons, and in 1663 the statutes prohibiting the exportation of coin and bullion were repealed.² The publications of Mr. Thomas Munn were very useful in establishing better notions of commerce; but that author was also the first who rendered popular the celebrated theory of the balance of trade; a system whose errors were pernicious, not only by inducing governments to tamper with trade instead of leaving it free to find its own channels, but also, what was still worse, by leading nations to regard the prosperity of their neighbours as incompatible with their own. Hence arose among them a desire to hurt and impoverish one another: commerce, that

Condition
of England.

¹ Ap. Motley, *United Netherlands*, vol. i. p. 307.

² Twiss, p. 49.

should naturally be a bond of union, became an occasion of discord, and the jealousy of trade not only impelled them to contend with hostile tariffs, but even gave rise to frequent and bloody wars.

Piracies of
the English.

Some years before the close of Elizabeth's reign, Raleigh had made two unsuccessful attempts to found an English colony in Virginia; and it was reserved for her successor, James I., to initiate that colonial system by which England has been distinguished among modern nations. We pass over this subject, as well as the first attempts of the English to trade with India and America, as foreign to our purpose, except in so far as they were occasions of quarrel with the Spanish Government. The voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and others, to the New World, were really no better than piratical, though in some measure excused by the absurd and exclusive pretensions of Spain, as well as by that underhand system of hostility and annoyance, without an open breach, which had during many years prevailed between the two countries. If Drake plundered Spanish settlements on the American coast, and returned with untold treasure, Philip was aiding and abetting a rebellion in Ireland, or scheming the assassination of the heretic English Queen. It must, however, be acknowledged that the piracies of the English had often no such excuse, being in many cases exercised on friendly nations, as the French, Dutch, and Danes.¹ After the peace of Vervins, the French maritime commerce with Spain and the Netherlands was terribly annoyed by English privateers: we find the Danes also complaining, and, in 1599, Elizabeth issued a proclamation enjoining all masters of vessels having letters of marque to give security before they sailed, that they would commit no injury on the subjects of friendly Powers.² The disputes which hence arose nearly produced a war between England and France, till, in 1606, they were put an end to by a treaty of commerce; by which all letters of reprisal were annulled on both sides, and many salutary regulations adopted respecting trade.³

¹ Οἱ γὰρ "Ἕλληνες τὸ πάλαι—ἐτράποντο πρὸς ληστείαν—οὐκ ἔχοντός πω αἰσχύνῃν τοῦτου τοῦ ἔργου, φέροντος δὲ τι καὶ δόξης μᾶλλον.—Thucyd. i. 5.

² Rymer, vol. xvi. p. 364.

³ *Ibid.* p. 645. Cf. Poirson, *Hist. du Règne de Henri IV.* t. ii. p. 115 sqq.

The opening of a more extensive commerce with Russia, which had hitherto been confined to Narva, was of a more legitimate nature. In the year 1553 a Joint-Stock Company was established in London, under the direction of the celebrated Sebastian Cabot, for the prosecution of maritime discovery, and a squadron of three ships, under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby, doubled the North Cape in search of a north-eastern passage. Sir Hugh, with two of his ships, was compelled by the approach of winter to seek shelter in a harbour of Russian Lapland, where he and his crews were all frozen to death. In the following summer they were discovered by some Russian fishermen in the same attitudes in which death had surprised them; the commander still sitting at his cabin table with his diary and other papers open before him. The third vessel, under Richard Chancellor, was fortunate enough to run into the White Sea, or Bay of St. Nicholas; and the crews landing at the Abbey of St. Nicholas near Archangel, were enabled to weather the rigour of the season.¹ Chancellor employed the opportunity to seek an interview with the Czar, Ivan Basilovitch, at Moscow, and to obtain for English commerce important privileges at Archangel, and other ports in those seas, which had been hitherto unvisited by any ships of burden. The Russians were the more inclined to enter into this connection, as Livonia, whence their products were shipped to the rest of Europe, was at this time in the hands of the Teutonic Order. Another fruit of this voyage was the discovery of the whale fishery at Spitzbergen. In the following year (1554) a charter of incorporation was granted by Queen Mary to the merchant adventurers engaged in this trade, who were subsequently called the Russia Company. In 1555 Chancellor and his companions again visited Moscow, and were hospitably entertained by the Czar, who granted them further important privileges. In the same year a Muscovite ambassador visited the Court of London. A few years after, Anthony Jenkinson, the energetic agent of the Russia Company, sailed down the Volga to Astrakan, crossed the Caspian Sea into Persia, and established at Bokhara a trade with the merchants of India, Persia, Russia, and Cathay, or China; and the silks and other products of the East were conveyed by the route thus opened to Kholmogory, on the

¹ See Clement Adam, *Anglorum Navigatio ad Moscovitas*.

Lower Dwina, and shipped thence to England.¹ In 1566, the Russia Company was sanctioned and confirmed by an express statute, the first of the kind passed by the English Parliament. In the year 1581 was incorporated a trading company of the same kind, the English Turkey, or Levant Company. But the most important of all the commercial associations formed during the reign of Elizabeth was the East India Company, established by charter, 31st December, 1600, for the purpose of carrying on a direct trade with the East Indies. In this enterprise, however, we had been anticipated by the Dutch.

Decline of
the Hanse-
atic League.

The history of Holland at this period affords a striking example how the spirit of liberty not only serves to secure the domestic happiness of a people, but also to promote their wealth and power. The war of independence became a source of prosperity to the new Republic. Although engaged in a long life-and-death struggle with the Spaniards, the commerce of the Dutch had gone on increasing every year, and their navy had attained to such a force as made them without a rival on the seas.² So Athens reached her highest pitch of power and glory during her struggle with Persia; and though the Dutch will not afford many points of comparison with the Athenians, except their naval strength, yet the insolence, vain glory, and radical weakness of the Spaniards may find no unapt counterparts in the Persians. From the middle of the sixteenth century the maritime commerce of the Dutch had been gradually superseding that of the Hanse Towns; against which trading confederacy a terrible blow had also been struck by Queen Elizabeth, who, after many disputes and some deeds of violence, caused the Steelyard, or house of the Hanse merchants in London, to be shut up in 1597.³ Before the close of the century the Dutch had become the chief carriers between the southern and northern parts of Europe. During the year 1586 and 1587, the most miserable years of their struggle, more than 800 ships entered the Dutch ports. The merchants and manufacturers of Brabant and Flanders flocked into Holland and Zealand, and contributed so much to the

¹ See Hakluyt's *Voyages*, vol. iv. p. 632 (ed. 1747). Cf. Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, vol. ii. p. 114 sqq.

² It was far superior to that of England towards the close of the sixteenth century, *Report of the magistrates of Amsterdam, Hague Archives*, ap. Motley, *United Netherlands*, vol. ii. p. 133.

³ Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, vol. ii. p. 212.

wealth and population of those provinces that it became necessary to build new towns, and enlarge the old ones. This prosperity was accompanied with a corresponding decline in the southern, or obedient, provinces of the Netherlands. In these, large districts once fertile were become waste; innumerable villages, and even some small towns, were wholly depopulated; the fox, the wolf, and the wild boar prowled around even the larger cities, and in the winter of 1586-7, two hundred persons were killed by dogs and wolves in the neighbourhood of Ghent. Nobles and wealthy citizens had been reduced to beggary, and peasants and artizans were forced to turn soldiers or brigands.¹ Antwerp had been completely ruined by the closing of the Scheldt. Meanwhile the Dutch, being no longer able, on account of the Spanish conquest of Portugal in 1580, to convey the commodities of the East from the Portuguese ports to those of northern Europe, resolved to trade on their own account with the East Indies, and with this view secured the services of one Cornelis Houtman, a Fleming, who, having made several voyages to India with the Portuguese, was well acquainted not only with the navigation, but also with the ports best adapted for trade. The merchants of Amsterdam now entered into an association called the Company of Distant Countries, and despatched, under Houtman's command, four ships of small burden, carrying 250 men, with 100 guns, and laden with commodities suitable for the Indian market. After an absence of about two and a half years, Houtman, with three of his ships, returned to the Texel in August, 1597, having penetrated as far as Bantam, in Java; but the Portuguese merchants settled there set the natives against the Dutch, and the profits of the voyage scarcely repaid the expenses of the outfit. It was found, however, that the influence of the Portuguese in the Indies had very much declined since the conquest of Portugal by Philip II.; the rapacity, tyranny, and bad faith of their governors and merchants had disgusted the natives—circumstances which encouraged the Dutch to persevere, especially as they had acquired a good knowledge of those seas, and had brought home with them some native Indians who might be useful in another expedition. Various trading companies were formed, and, in

Progress
of Dutch
commerce.

¹ See the authorities collected by Motley, *United Netherl.* vol. ii. p. 129.

1598, eighty vessels were despatched to the East and West Indies, to the coast of Africa, and even to the Pacific Ocean, in squadrons of from four to eight vessels, completely armed, and some provided with troops; so that they were alike ready to fight or trade. But as these divided associations were not found to yield much profit, they were, in the year 1602, amalgamated into one, under the name of the East India Company, with a joint-stock capital of between six and seven million guilders, or about six hundred thousand pounds sterling; and power was conferred upon this society to trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope and Straits of Magellan, to appoint governors, administer justice, build forts, raise troops, etc. Their trade was secure from molestation through the maritime superiority which the Dutch navy had begun to assert.¹ In time they planted factories and settlements along the coasts of Asia and Bussorah on the Persian Gulf as far as Japan, and in particular they established themselves in the island of Java, where they made Batavia the central emporium of all their eastern trade. They also appropriated the Molucca and other spice islands, and became at length so powerful in the East as to send out fleets of forty or fifty large ships, and an army of thirty thousand men. In short, the foreign commerce of Holland grew so large as quite to overshadow that of England, and to excite the jealousy of our merchants and adventurers, as may be seen in the *Observations*² addressed to James I. by Sir Walter Raleigh shortly before his execution.

French
trade and
navigation.

France also appeared as a competitor in the race of colonization; but that nation does not seem to be well fitted for such enterprises, which, instead of giving birth at once to brilliant and striking results, must be fostered and brought to maturity by long years of patient care and industry. It is, at all events, certain, that the attempts of the French in this way were not crowned with any remarkable success. Sully, observing this characteristic in the national genius, dissuaded Henry from renewing the attempts to form plantations in New France.³ But Henry was not to be discouraged. He resolved to compete with Spain and England in the foundation of transatlantic colonies; but in order to avoid disputes with those

¹ See Watson's *Philip III.* bk. iv.; Macpherson, vol. ii. p. 226.

² See abstract in Macpherson, *ibid.* p. 233.

³ *Letter of Sully to the President Jeannin* (1608), ap. Martin, t. x. p. 464.

Powers, he confined the researches of his navigators to the regions beyond the fortieth degree N. latitude. These efforts resulted in the foundation by Champlain of the colonies of Port-Royal in Acadia (1607) and Quebec in Canada (1608). The Gallic race obtained a permanent footing in the New World, though destined at length to fall under the dominion of their English rivals in that hemisphere. Henry also attempted in 1604 to establish a French East India Company; but there was not commercial enterprise enough in the country to carry out his views. The company remained in abeyance till 1615, when Louis XIII. gave them a new charter, and they took possession of the vast island of Madagascar. But it was soon found not to answer their expectations, and the company sank into oblivion.¹

The Ottoman Empire was beginning, towards the close of the sixteenth century, to feel the approaches of decay. The wars of Selim II. had so exhausted the treasure which had previously been kept in the ancient Byzantine castle, called the "Seven Towers," that he caused it to be removed to his private treasury. In the palmy days of the Empire, each of these seven towers had its appropriate use: one contained the gold, another the silver money; a third the gold and silver plate and jewels; valuable remains of antiquity were deposited in the fourth; in the fifth were preserved ancient coins and other objects, chiefly collected by Selim I. during his expeditions into Persia and Egypt; the sixth was a sort of arsenal, and the seventh was appropriated to the archives. After the time of Selim II. the Seven Towers were used as a prison for distinguished persons and as an arsenal. Amurath III., whose avarice was prodigious, retained and improved upon the custom of his predecessor. He caused, it is said, a vault to be built, with treble locks, in which his treasure was deposited, and over which he slept every night; it was opened only four times a year to receive fresh heaps of wealth, which have been estimated at twelve million ducats annually; but two millions are perhaps nearer the truth.²

More than a century of Turkish despotism had at length done its work. Ragazzoni describes³ the Christians in the

The
Ottoman
Empire.

State of
Christians
in Turkey.

¹ *Letter* of Sully to the President Jeannin (1608), ap. Martin, t. x. p. 465; Macpherson, *ibid.* p. 282.

² *Inform. Pol.* ap. Zinkeisen, B. iii. S. 353.

³ *Relatione*, in Alberi, ii. p. 100 (ser. iii.).

Ottoman Empire in 1571 as so depressed and degraded that they dared hardly look a Turk in the face: the only care of their listless existence was to raise enough for their maintenance, and to pay their *karatsh*, or poll-tax—all beyond would be seized by the Turks. Constantinople, however, still afforded a secure place of residence, whither the Greeks flocked in great numbers; so that towards the end of the sixteenth century it was reckoned that there were 100,000 of them in that capital. Many of these acquired great wealth, either by trade or by farming certain branches of the Grand-Signor's revenue. Among them one Michael Kantakuzenus was conspicuous both for his enormous wealth and his intrigues, which procured him the name of the "Devil's Son" (*Seitan Oglie*), although it was thought that he was no true Greek, but an Englishman by birth, and belonging to the family of an English ambassador. The fate of whole provinces lay in his hands; he could fit out twenty or thirty galleys at his own expense, and the splendour of his palace at Anchioli rivalled the seraglio of the Grand-Signor. Kantakuzenus had gained his influence through the favour and friendship of Mohammed Sokolli; but even that powerful Vizier could not at last save him from the wrath of Amurath III.; and he was hanged before the gate of his own palace (March, 1578). The Jews also occupied an important position in the Ottoman Empire. From the earliest period the physicians of the Sultan were of the Hebrew race; they monopolized most branches of commerce, and were the chief musical performers.¹

¹ Gerlach's *Tagebuch* contains much information on the state of Constantinople.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE BEGINNING OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

THE peace of Vervins, recorded in Chapter XXVII., was not very well observed on the part of France. The ruling idea which guided the foreign policy of Henry IV. was, to curb the power of the House of Austria: a plan incompatible with the letter of the treaty. In pursuance of this policy Henry became the supporter of Protestantism; not, perhaps, from any lingering affection for his ancient faith—his indifference in such matters has been already seen—but because the Protestants were the natural enemies of the Austrian House. Hence he was determined to support the independence of Holland. He annually paid the Dutch large sums of money; he connived at the recruiting for them in France; and in spite of a royal prohibition, granted at the instance of the Spanish ambassador in 1599, whole regiments passed into the service of the United Provinces. In aid of these plans Henry fortified himself with alliances. He courted the Protestant Princes of Germany, and incited them to make a diversion in favour of the Dutch; he cultivated the friendship of Venice, reconciled himself with the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and attached the House of Lorraine to his interests by giving his sister, Catharine, in marriage to the Duke of Bar (January 31st, 1599); who, formerly, when Marquis of Pont-à-Mousson, had been his rival for the French Crown, and who in 1608 succeeded his father as Duke of Lorraine. The Porte was propitiated by Savary de Brèves, an able diplomatist; and the vanity of France was gratified by obtaining the protectorate of the Christians in the East. The Pope was gained through his temporal interests as an Italian Prince. Henry had promised, on his absolution, to publish in France the decrees of Trent; and, as he had refrained from doing so out of con-

Policy of
Henry IV.

sideration for the Huguenots, he had, by way of compensation, offered to support Clement VIII. in his design of uniting Ferrara to the immediate dominions of the Church; although the House of Este had often been the faithful ally of France. The direct line of the reigning branch of that family becoming extinct on the death of Duke Alfonso II., Clement VIII. seized the duchy; and Cæsar d'Este, first cousin and heir of Alfonso, obtained only the Imperial fiefs of Modena and Reggio (1597). The connivance of Henry gratified the Pope and caused him to overlook the Edict of Nantes.

He procures
a divorce.

The friendship of the Pope was also necessary to Henry for his private affairs, as he was meditating a divorce from his wife, Margaret of Valois, from whom he had long been estranged, and who had borne him no children. Flaws were discovered in Gregory XIII.'s dispensation for kinship; and as Margaret herself, in consideration of a large pension from the King, agreed to the suit (July, 1599), a divorce was easily obtained. The choice of her successor was more difficult. Mary de' Medici, the offspring of Francis, Grand-Duke of Tuscany, by a daughter of the Emperor, Ferdinand I., was proposed, and supported by Sully who opposed all idea of a marriage with Gabrielle, now Duchess of Beaufort. The difficulty was solved by the sudden death of Gabrielle, April 10th, 1599. Henry, who was absent from Paris, though he felt and displayed an unfeigned sorrow for the death of his mistress, harboured no suspicions, and the negotiations for the Florentine marriage went on. Mary de' Medici, however, was nearly supplanted by another rival. Before the end of the summer, Henry had been captivated by a new mistress, Mademoiselle d'Entragues, whom he created Marquise de Verneuil. The Papal commissaries had, in December, 1599, pronounced his marriage with Margaret null; and on the 25th of April following the King signed his marriage contract with the Tuscan Princess, the second descendant of the Florentine bankers, who was destined to give heirs to the Crown of France.

Question
respecting
Saluzzo.

A domestic rebellion, fomented by Spain and Savoy, diverted awhile the attention of Henry from his plans of foreign policy. Sully's economy and love of order had excited much discontent among the powerful nobles of France; the materials of sedition were accumulated and ready to burst into a flame; and a point that had been left undecided in the

treaty of Vervins afforded the means of applying the torch. By that treaty the question between France and Savoy respecting the Marquisate of Saluzzo had been referred to the decision of the Pope; but Clement VIII., unwilling to offend either party, had declined to interfere. In order, if possible, to settle this question, and also to engage Henry to support his pretensions to Geneva, Charles Emmanuel, who then reigned in Savoy, paid a visit to the French King at Fontainebleau; where, alarmed apparently at the idea of being seized and detained, he agreed to decide whether he would give up Bresse in exchange for Henry's claims on Saluzzo. He had, however, no intention of surrendering either the one or the other; and he employed his visit to France in ingratiating himself with the French nobles, many of whom he gained by large gifts and still larger promises. It had been predicted by an astrologer that in the year 1600 there should be no King in France; and Charles Emmanuel made use of a prediction which, in that age, carried no slight weight, not only to rouse the ambition of the French nobility, but also, it is said, to stimulate a renewal of the odious enterprises against Henry's life. A plan was formed to convert France into an elective monarchy, like the Empire, and to establish each great lord as an hereditary Prince in his government.¹ It was thought that many towns as well as nobles might be drawn into the plot, nay, even that some princes of the blood might be induced to engage in it. Among the leading conspirators were the Dukes of Epemon and Bouillon (Turenne), and the Count of Auvergne, a natural son of Charles IX. and uterine brother of the King's mistress, Henriette d'Entragues. But Marshal Biron was the soul of the plot: whose chief motive was wounded pride, the source of so many rash actions in men of his egregious vanity. Biron pretended that the King owed to him the Crown, and complained of his ingratitude, although Henry had made him a Duke and Peer, as well as a Marshal of France and Governor of Burgundy. Henry had mortified him by remarking that the Birones had served him well, but that he had had a great deal of trouble with the drunkenness of the father and the freaks and pranks of the son. Biron's complaints were so loud that the Court

Conspiracy
against
Henry.

¹ Evidence of La Fin in the process against Biron, ap. Ranke, *Französische Gesch.* B. ii. S. 150.

of Spain made him secret advances; while an intriguer named La Fin proposed to him, on the part of the Duke of Savoy, one of the Duke's daughters in marriage, and held out the hope that Spain would guarantee to him the sovereignty of both Burgundies. After many pretexts and delays, Charles Emmanuel having refused to give up Bresse for Saluzzo, or Saluzzo for Bresse, Henry IV. declared war against him in August, 1600, and promptly followed up the declaration by invading Savoy. Biron carefully concealed his designs, nor does the King appear to have been aware of them; for he gave the Marshal a command, who conquered for him the little county of Bresse,¹ though still secretly corresponding with the Duke of Savoy. Henry's refusal to give Biron the command of Bourg, the capital of Bresse, still further exasperated him.

War with
Savoy.

One of the most interesting incidents of this little war is the care displayed by Henry for the safety of Geneva. The Duke of Savoy had long hankered after the possession of that city, and had erected, at the distance of two leagues from it, the fort of St. Catherine, which proved a great annoyance to the Genevese. The fort was captured by the royal forces; and the now aged Beza, at the head of a deputation of the citizens, went out to meet the King, who, in spite of the displeasure of the Papal Legate, gave him a friendly reception, presented him with a sum of money, and granted his request for the demolition of the fortress.² This war presents little else of interest except its results, embodied in the treaty of peace signed January 17th, 1601. The rapidity of Henry's conquests had quite dispirited Charles Emmanuel; and although Fuentes, the Spanish Governor of the Milanese, ardently desired the prolongation of the war, the Duke of Lerma, the all-powerful minister of Philip III., was against it; for the anxiety of the Spanish cabinet had been excited by the appearance of a Turkish fleet in the western waters of the Mediterranean, effected through the influence of the French ambassador at Constantinople. Under these circumstances negotiations were begun. In order to retain the Marquisate of Saluzzo, which would have given the French too firm a footing in Piedmont, the Duke was compelled to make large

¹ Now in the Department of the Ain.

² Thuanus, lib. cxxv. t. vi. p. 42 sqq.

territorial concessions on the other side of the Alps. Bresse, Bugei, Valromei, the Pays de Gex, in short, all the country between the Saone, the Rhone, and the southern extremity of the Jura mountains, except the little principality of Dombes and its capital Trévoux, belonging to the Duke of Montpensier, were now ceded to the French in exchange for their claims of the territories of Saluzzo, Perosa, Pinerolo, and the Val di Stura. The Duke also ceded Châteaux-Dauphin, reserving a right of passage into Franche-Comté, for which he had to pay 100,000 crowns. This hasty peace ruined all Biron's hopes, and struck him with such alarm, that he came to Henry and confessed his treasonable plans. Henry not only pardoned him, but even employed him in embassies to England and Switzerland; but Biron was incorrigible. He soon afterwards renewed his intrigues with the French malcontent nobles, and being apprehended and condemned for high treason by the Parliament of Paris, was beheaded in the Court of the Bastille, July 29th, 1602. The execution of so powerful a nobleman created both at home and abroad a strong impression of the power of the French King.

Execution
of Biron.

While the war with Savoy was going on, Mary de' Medici arrived in France, and Henry solemnized his marriage with her at Lyons, December 9th, 1600. The union was not destined to be a happy one. Mary was neither amiable nor attractive; she possessed but little of the grace or intellect of her family; and was withal ill-tempered, bigoted, obstinate, and jealous. On September 27th, 1601, the Dauphin, afterwards Louis XIII., was born.

Henry's
marriage.

Although the aims of Henry IV. were as a rule noble and worthy of his character, the means which he employed to attain them will not always admit of the same praise. His excuse must be sought in the necessities and difficulties of his political situation. At home, where he was suspected both by Catholics and Huguenots, he was frequently obliged to resort to finesse, nor did he hesitate himself to acknowledge that his word was not always to be depended on.¹ Abroad, where his policy led him to contend with both branches of the House of Austria, he was compelled, in that unequal struggle, to supply with

Scheme of
a Christian
Republic.

¹ "La nécessité, qui est la loi du temps, me fait ores dire une chose, ores l'autre."—*Ranke, Gesch. Frankr.* B. ii. S. 102.

artifice the deficiencies of force ; and he did not scruple to assist underhand the malcontent vassals and subjects of the Emperor and the King of Spain. France is the land of political "ideas," and Henry, or rather his Minister, Sully, had formed a magnificent scheme for the reconstruction of Europe. Against the plan of Charles V. and Philip II., of a universal THEOCRATIC MONARCHY, Sully formed the antagonistic one of a CHRISTIAN REPUBLIC, in which, for the bigotry and intolerance supported by physical force, that formed the foundation of the Spanish scheme, were to be substituted a mutual toleration between Papists and Protestants and the suppression of all persecution. Foreign wars and domestic revolutions, as well as all religious disputes, were to be settled by European congresses, and a system of free trade was to prevail throughout Europe. This confederated Christian State was to consist of fifteen powers, or dominations, divided according to their constitutions into three different groups. The first group was to consist of States having an elective Sovereign, which would include the Papacy, the Empire, Venice, and the three elective Kingdoms of Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia. The second group would comprehend the hereditary Kingdoms of France, Spain, Great Britain, Denmark, Sweden, and the new Kingdom of Lombardy which was to be founded ; while the Republics or federate States, as the Swiss League, the contemplated Belgian commonwealth, and the confederacy of the Italian States would form the third.¹ The Tsar of Muscovy, or as Henry used to call him, the "Scythian Knès," was at present to be excluded from the Christian Republic, as being an Asiatic rather than a European potentate, as well as on account of the savage and half barbarous nature of his subjects, and the doubtful character of their religious faith ; though he might one day be admitted into this community of nations, when he should think proper himself to make the application. But as a principal aim, and, indeed, essential condition, of the scheme, was the abasement of the House of Austria, many political changes were to be effected with a view to attain this end. Naples was to be withdrawn from Spain and annexed to the Papal dominions, while the Duchy of Milan, united with that of Savoy, was to form a Kingdom of Lombardy ; Spain

¹ See Sully, *Œconomies Royales*, t. viii. p. 253 sqq. (Petitot.)

was to be still further crippled by the loss of her Belgian provinces; the Empire, now become almost hereditary, was to be rendered truly elective; the remains of the Hungarian Kingdom were to be strengthened, at the expense of Austria, by the addition to it of that Archduchy, as well as of the Duchies of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, besides such districts as could be recovered from the Turks, though the Austrian House was to receive a sort of nominal compensation by the suzerainty of the Helvetian and Belgian Republics. That Henry IV. himself entertained any serious idea of the feasibility of this scheme may well be doubted, though a plan so well calculated by its grandeur to dazzle the French nation has been regarded by some of the historians of France as the main-spring of all his policy. But it sometimes served Henry as a basis for negotiation, and the mere conception of it is worthy of note, as showing a wonderful advance in political and social views.

The Spanish branch of the Austrian House was naturally a more immediate object of Henry's solicitude than the Austrian. Philip III. had succeeded, in his twenty-first year, to the Spanish throne on the death of his father, Philip II., to whom, in character, he offered a striking contrast. Immediately after his accession Philip III. committed the entire direction of affairs to his favourite the Marquis of Denia, whom, to the great indignation of the Spanish grandees, he created Duke of Lerma. That powerful minister possessed but limited abilities, and was utterly unversed in the art of government; but his manners were courteous and affable, and he had gained the favour of the ecclesiastics by his devotion to the Church.

Philip III.
and the
Duke of
Lerma.

One of the first acts of Philip III. was to solemnize at Valencia his marriage with Margaret of Austria. About the same time (April, 1599) was celebrated the previously arranged marriage of the Archduke Albert and Philip II.'s daughter, the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia; and in September they returned to the Netherlands, where they assumed the title of the "Archdukes." Albert now adopted all the formalities of the Court of the Escorial; assumed the Spanish dress and manners, and required to be served on the knee; a proceeding which gave great offence to the plain and uncere-
monious Netherlanders. As Philip II. had reserved the liberty of garrisoning Antwerp, Ghent and Cambray with

His
marriage.

Spanish soldiers, the money and troops of Spain, notwithstanding the nominally independent sovereignty of the Archdukes, continued to be employed in Belgium as in the preceding reign. Albert, during his absence in Spain, had left Mendoza, Marquis of Guadalete, commander in the Netherlands, who undertook some plundering operations on the Rhine; but the campaign of 1599 presents little of importance. Prince Maurice of Nassau, Stadholder of Holland, the leader of the Dutch, was reckoned the ablest captain of the day; but he was suspected by the leaders of the republican party in Holland of a design to seize the sovereignty, and, with a view to that object, of endeavouring to prolong the war; and they therefore appointed commissioners to watch his movements; among whom Olden Barneveldt, Advocate of Holland, was the foremost. The Seven United Provinces had now reached a great height of prosperity. Their navy was the best in Europe; they were aided by Scotch and English troops; and though the peace of Vervins had deprived them of the open support of France, yet Henry IV. continued secretly to assist them.

Maurice of
Nassau.

Siege of
Nieuport.

A mutiny in 1600 among the Spanish and Italian troops of the Archdukes, occasioned by their pay being in arrear, seemed to Olden Barneveldt and the States to present a favourable opportunity for striking a blow in Flanders. Maurice, against his better judgment, was reluctantly persuaded to undertake the expedition, and after capturing some towns and fortresses, he laid siege to Nieuport. The Archduke Albert, accompanied by his consort, hastened to the relief of that important place, when Clara Eugenia appeared on horseback before the Spanish troops near Ghent, soothed them by her condescension, and animated them by her courage; and pointing to her costly earrings, she declared that she would part with them sooner than the men should lose their pay. Maurice had scarcely arrived before Nieuport when he was surprised by the intelligence of the approach of the Archdukes. Against the earnest advice of Sir Francis Vere, who commanded the English contingent sent to the aid of the States, he despatched to certain destruction nearly a third of his army which had not yet crossed to the western side of the creek forming the harbour of Nieuport, in the vain hope that they might arrest for some time the advance of the Spaniards; but they were dispersed and almost entirely

destroyed in an hour.¹ A battle was now inevitable, and all the arrangements for it were intrusted to Vere. Maurice seems to have lost all confidence in himself and his troops, and in the hope of gaining some courage from despair sent away his numerous fleet, the only hope, in case of reverse, of salvation for his army: a resolution which by some authors has been styled heroic, but which rather shows that he had lost his head. The army of the States was saved chiefly through the bravery of Vere and his Englishmen; Sir Francis, ever in the thickest of the fight, was severely wounded. The Spaniards were defeated with great loss. Maurice, however, apparently for no adequate reasons, did not pursue the siege of Nieupoort; he soon afterwards returned into Holland, and no other memorable action took place during this campaign.

The Northern Netherlanders still occupied Ostend, and as their sallies from that place occasioned much annoyance to the Flemings, they requested the Archduke Albert to attempt the reduction of it; a task which had baffled the skill of the Duke of Parma. Nevertheless, Albert, early in 1601, consented to begin a siege which is among the longest and most memorable in the annals of warfare. Ostend was defended by Sir Francis Vere,² who, having lost the greater part of his garrison, amused the enemy with a pretended capitulation till he had received reinforcements; and he frustrated a rash and desperate assault of the Spaniards, by causing the sluices to be opened, and drowning large numbers of the assailants. In 1601 Henry IV., who, in consequence of an affront offered to the French ambassador at Madrid, was at this time meditating open war against Spain, repaired to Calais, in order to encourage the Dutch by his neighbourhood; and at the same time Queen Elizabeth went to Dover, in the hope that the French King might be induced to pay her a visit at that place. Fear of giving umbrage to the Catholics deterred

Siege of
Ostend.

¹ This division, under Count Ernest of Nassau, had encountered the enemy at Leffingen at eight o'clock in the morning, and they were destroyed before nine. Motley, *Un. Netherlands*, vol. iv. ch. xxxviii. note 36, end. This author, in his account of the battle, has maligned Vere in a manner betraying national antipathy rather than the calm and impartial judgment of an historian. Luckily, however, the glaring contradictions and unfair conclusions of his own narrative suffice to refute it, without seeking further proof.

² The States relieved Vere at the end of five months by another governor.

Henry from crossing the Channel, but he sent his minister Sully,¹ who was surprised to find that the English Queen had anticipated in many points his plans for the abasement of the House of Austria. The interview, however, had no practical result; the Pope hastened to make up the quarrel between France and Spain; but Henry gave Elizabeth to understand that if they did not unite their arms they might at least join their diplomacy; and he continued to send money secretly to the Dutch, and to wink at the succours forwarded by the Huguenot party to Ostend. Albert did not make much progress in the siege of that place; he was hindered sometimes by the operations of Maurice, sometimes by the mutinies of his own troops, as well as the difficulties naturally belonging to the undertaking. In 1602 the Spaniards were reinforced by the arrival from Italy of 8,000 men under Ambrose Spinola, a Genoese nobleman of large fortune and a sort of amateur soldier, who was devoted to the Spanish cause. Spinola mortgaged his large possessions in Italy in order to raise the succours just mentioned; while his brother Frederick appeared on the Flemish coast with a fleet fitted out at his own expense, and inflicted much loss on the Dutch commerce; in which enterprises he met a speedy death.

Queen Elizabeth, who had succoured the Dutch with 6,000 men, died before the siege of Ostend was brought to a conclusion. The Spaniards had retaliated by aiding O'Neill's rebellion in Ireland; but she lived just long enough to see its extinction. Her death (March 24th, 1603) was a great loss, not only for the Dutch and the Protestant cause, but also for Henry IV., who, besides counting on her help in his struggle with the House of Austria, was loath to see the Crowns of England and Scotland united on the same head. Henry, however, despatched Sully into England to endeavour, if possible, to persuade Elizabeth's successor, James I., to act in concert with France with regard to the affairs of the Netherlands. It was a difficult task. Prejudiced by his maxims respecting the divine right of Kings, James looked upon the Dutch as rebels and traitors, and seemed inclined to listen to the advances of the Spanish Court, though he rejected those of the Pope with signs of the most bitter aversion.

¹ We use this name, as best known, but Rosni was not created Duke of Sully till 1606.

Death of
Queen
Elizabeth,
1603.

Policy of
James I.

The Dutch had also sent Barneveldt, together with the young Prince Frederick Henry of Nassau, to congratulate James on his accession, and to solicit a renewal of the English alliance. James at length agreed to despatch some troops into the Low Countries, whose pay was to be furnished by France, though a third of it was to go in reduction of the debt due from Henry IV. to England (June 25th, 1603). Sully also sounded the English King on his grand scheme for the reorganization of Europe, and James, who was fond of speculation, seemed to enter wonderfully into the spirit of it; yet in the very next year he concluded a formal peace with Spain (August 18th, 1604). James, however, refused to deliver up to the Netherland Archdukes Flushing, Brill, and Rammekens, places which the United Provinces had assigned to Elizabeth as security for their debt; and though he offered his mediation to make the States accept a fair and reasonable peace, yet he appears to have reserved to himself, by a secret agreement, the right of assisting them. The treaty was limited to Europe, and James could not prevail upon the Spanish Court to open the Indies to British commerce. The discovery of the Gunpowder Plot in the following year inclined James more towards the French alliance, and in February, 1606, a treaty of commerce was concluded with France.

Meanwhile the siege of Ostend still continued. Albert, weary of the enterprise, had devolved the conduct of it on Spinola, who at length succeeded in lodging his troops in the outworks; and the Dutch, despairing of the defence of the town, resolved to compensate themselves for its loss by the capture of Sluys, which surrendered on capitulation to Prince Maurice. Soon afterwards, as Ostend seemed no longer tenable, they instructed the commandant to capitulate (September 20th, 1604). The contending parties are said to have lost 100,000 men during this siege, which was now in its fourth year. Spinola, on entering the town, gave the commandant and his officers a magnificent entertainment, by way of marking his estimation of their conduct.¹ The fall of Ostend had but little influence on the general progress of the war, which we shall here pursue to its conclusion. The brunt of the struggle was next year transferred to the borders of

Fall of
Ostend.

¹ Motley has given two or three chapters to the siege of Ostend. *United Netherlands*, vol. iv.

Overijssel and Gelderland; but the campaign of 1605 offers little of importance. At the close of it, Spinola, ill supported by the Spanish Court, found it necessary to proceed to Madrid to hasten the supplies of troops and money which Philip III. and Lerma were very slow in furnishing. On his way back he was seized with a fever, which prevented him from reaching the Netherlands till July, 1606, and the only event of much importance that year was the capture by him of Rheinberg. At the conclusion of this campaign negotiations were opened for a peace, of which Spain, and even Spinola himself, was now very desirous. The same result was ardently wished for by a large party in the United Provinces, at the head of which was John of Olden Barneveldt, Grand Pensionary of Holland, the first statesman and patriot of his age; and he at length prevailed upon Prince Maurice, who wished to continue the war, to enter into his views. The States, however, resolved not to treat unless their independence was acknowledged, a condition very unpalatable to the pride of Spain and the Archdukes. A subterfuge was at last hit upon. John Neyen, an Antwerp Franciscan, who had studied in Spain, and was now Commissary-General of his order in the Netherlands, was sent to Ryswyck (February, 1607), whence he was several times introduced secretly of an evening to Prince Maurice and Barneveldt at the Hague. The friar evaded a direct recognition of Dutch independence, by declaring that he was empowered to treat with the States "as if they were free." A truce of eight months, to begin on the 4th of May, was agreed upon, in order to conduct the negotiations; though not for a permanent peace, which would have been insufferable to Spanish pride, but only for a prolonged truce. The Hollanders, however, refused to suspend hostilities by sea, and while the negotiations were pending, Admiral Heemskerk was despatched from the Texel to the coasts of Spain and Portugal with a formidable fleet, and instructed not only to watch over the Dutch ships returning from the Indies, but also to inflict on the Spaniards all the damage he could. Heemskerk sailed to Gibraltar Bay, where the Spanish fleet, consisting of twenty-one large ships under the command of Admiral Davila, was drawn up in order of battle under the guns of the fortress. Upon this formidable array the Dutch commander bore down in full sail; the Spanish admiral at his approach retired behind his other

Peace negotiations.

The Dutch destroy the Spanish fleet.

galleons, pursued by Heemskerk, who, as he neared the Spaniards, was killed by a cannon ball; but Davila also soon shared the same fate. The officer who succeeded him in command, seeing that the fleet had sustained considerable loss, hoisted a white flag; but the Dutch, animated with an uncontrollable fury against the Spaniards, would not recognize it, and continued the fight till they had half destroyed the Spanish fleet, and 2,000 or 3,000 of the crews. Then, after repairing at Tetuan the damage they had sustained, which was comparatively trifling, they again put to sea in small squadrons in order to intercept and capture the Spanish merchantmen (April, 1607). This decisive victory had a great effect in lowering the pride of the Spaniards, and rendering them more practicable; they found their commerce ruined, and were forced to ask quarter of the "Beggars of the Sea." Yet when the ratification of the truce arrived from Spain it was not satisfactory. The independence of the United Provinces was not recognized; the instrument was signed *Yo el Rey* (I, the King), a form used only towards subjects, and it was not sealed with the Great Seal. At the entreaty of the Archdukes, however, the Dutch consented to recall their fleet till a satisfactory ratification should be obtained within a given period.

King James felt at first some alarm at the negotiations between the Archdukes and the States; but he was at length satisfied with the explanations of Caron, the Dutch ambassador, and he sent Sir Ralph Winwood and Sir Richard Spencer to assist at the deliberations. It was now necessary for France to take a decided part. Henry deemed it prudent to join England in mediating a peace between Spain and her revolted subjects, and in August, 1607, the President, Jeannin, was sent into Holland with instructions for that purpose.¹ The discussions, chiefly conducted by Jeannin and Barneveldt, were long and stormy, and the provisional truce had often to be prolonged. Neyen endeavoured to corrupt Aersens, the Dutch secretary, by offering him a splendid diamond for his wife, and for himself a bond of Spinola's for 50,000 crowns. Aersens communicated the offer to Prince Maurice, who advised him to accept it, and then to give up the bribes to

Continued
negotia-
tions for
peace.

¹ See on this subject the *Négoc. du Président Jeannin* (Petitot, t. xii.).

the Council of State, and at a later stage of the proceedings Olden Barneveldt produced these bribes to Verreiken, the minister of the Archdukes, and covered him with confusion. The leaders of the Republican, or anti-Orange party, among whom we may distinguish, besides Barneveldt, Ladenburg, Hogerbeets, and Hugo Grotius, Pensionary of Rotterdam, were willing not to haggle too closely about the terms; but the war party, which adhered to Maurice of Nassau, and which included the army and navy, the East India Company, the populace of the larger towns, and a considerable proportion of the clergy, appeared to recover its influence, and towards the end of 1608 the negotiations were on the point of being broken off. Holland especially, where Maurice was all-powerful, and Zealand, where his estates lay, and where he almost ruled as a Prince, were loud against a peace; and Zealand even threatened to give herself to England, unless the French would declare against Spain. Philip III., through his ambassador, Don Pedro de Toledo, had endeavoured to detach Henry IV. from the Dutch cause by renewing his proposals for a matrimonial treaty between the families. Soon after the conclusion of the peace between Spain and England, Philip had tried to impress upon Henry that France and Spain, instead of opposing each other, should combine to dictate the law to Europe, and had suggested that they should cement their alliance by a double union between their children; for Henry had now a son and daughter. There was a large party in France in favour of this alliance, and Henry himself appeared to listen to the proposal, but he was dissuaded from it by Sully, the constant opponent of the House of Austria. The project when now renewed met with no better success. Early in 1609 Jeannin, seconded by the English ambassadors, succeeded in extorting some important concessions from the Spaniards, and he prevailed on the Dutch States to appoint a large deputation to accept the proffered terms. Accordingly a body of 800 deputies assembled at Bergen-op-Zoom to treat with the Spanish plenipotentiaries; and at last, on the 9th of April, 1609, a truce was signed for a term of twelve years. In the preamble to the treaty, the Archdukes acknowledged that, both in their own name and in that of the Catholic King, they treated with the Dutch States as with free and independent peoples. The treaty was founded on the basis of *uti possidetis*. Spain now yielded on

the question of the Indian trade, which had been one of the chief subjects of dispute, as well as respecting the navigation of the Scheldt, and the ruin of Antwerp was consummated for the benefit of the ports of Holland and Zealand. The Spanish envoys, though they struggled hard, could obtain no toleration of Catholic worship in the United Provinces. Great regard was shown in this treaty for the interests of the family of Nassau. It was provided that none of the descendants of William, Prince of Orange, should be liable for any debts he had contracted between the year 1567 and his death, and that such of his estates within the territories of the Archdukes as had been confiscated should be restored. The States took care that Maurice should suffer no diminution of income by the conclusion of the war, and they also augmented the appointments of Prince Frederick Henry and of Count William Louis of Nassau.¹ These sums had been voted chiefly through the influence of Barneveldt; but they did not appease Maurice's jealousy and resentment against him, though for some few years longer an apparent friendship subsisted between them.² By this treaty was terminated, after a war of forty years, the struggle of the Dutch for independence, though a like period was still to elapse before it was formally recognized by Spain. Up to this time the Dutch had enlarged their Union by the addition of the two important provinces of Overijssel and Groningen; they had extended their boundary on the Flemish side by the conquest of Sluys, Hulst, and several other places, constituting what was afterwards called Dutch Flanders; in Northern Brabant they had conquered several strong towns, including Bergen-op-Zoom, Breda, and Hertogenbosch; by means of Lillo and other forts they had obtained the command of the Scheldt; they had attacked, and vanquished in their own harbours, the powerful navies of Spain, and had interrupted and shared her commerce at the furthest extremities of the globe.

Meanwhile Henry IV.'s policy of weakening the House of Austria seemed to involve him in the grossest contradictions; for, while he courted the German Protestants, he endeavoured at the same time to stand well with the Pope, and at home he showed more favour to the Roman Catholics than to the

Policy of
Henry IV.

¹ Dumont, t. v. pt. ii. p. 99 sqq. There is a summary of the chief articles of the treaty in Watson's *Philip III.* vol. i. p. 384 sqq.

² Motley, *Life of Barneveldt*, ch. vii.

Huguenots, as being both more able and more willing to extend and confirm the royal authority. Hence in 1603 he had recalled the Jesuits to Paris, had endowed several Jesuit colleges, and had intrusted to a celebrated member of the Society, the Père Cotton, the difficult and delicate task of directing his conscience. Henry's former friends, the Huguenots, had indeed become his chief domestic enemies. The Duke of Bouillon, their principal leader, had long been intriguing with the malcontent French nobles, and with Spain; and in 1606 Henry had appeared before Sedan with an army, and compelled the Duke to surrender that place for a term of four years. But Henry's policy compelled him to inconsistencies even in the treatment of his rebellious vassals; and, for fear of offending the Protestant Princes of Germany, he granted Bouillon a complete pardon, allowed him to retain his offices and honours, and suffered him to instal himself at Court.

At the same time Henry endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the Pope. On the death of Clement VIII., March 5th, 1605, the influence of France had been exerted in the Conclave to procure the election of Cardinal Alexander de' Medici, a kinsman of the French Queen; 300,000 crowns were expended in the purchase of votes, and Alexander assumed, with the tiara, the title of Leo XI. But in less than a month the death of Leo occasioned another vacancy. It was supplied by the election of Cardinal Camillo Borghese, who took the name of Paul V. (May 16th, 1605). Cardinal Bellarmine, the great Jesuit theologian, had nearly obtained the tiara; but his profession was against him; the Sacred College feared that, if the Society of Jesus once succeeded in seizing the throne of St. Peter, they would never relinquish it. Originally a Consistorial advocate, Borghese had risen through every grade of the clerical profession; but he had lived in seclusion, buried in his studies, and his character was but little known. After his accession a great change was observed in him. He had conceived the most extravagant ideas of the greatness of his office, and began his administration with acts of extreme rigour. He endeavoured to break down all the restraints which the Italian governments had placed on the Pontifical authority in the relations of Church and State, and in most instances he succeeded in extorting concessions; but Venice opposed a formidable resistance.

Death of
Clement
VIII. and
election of
Paul V.

In that Republic a little knot of liberal thinkers had been formed, at the head of whom was Fra Paolo Sarpi, the celebrated historian of the Council of Trent. Endowed with great originality of mind, Sarpi appears to have anticipated some of the doctrines of Locke; but it is difficult to describe the exact nature of his religious tenets; they seem to have approximated to those of the Reformation, and by some he was considered a Protestant in disguise. It is at all events certain, that he was a most determined enemy of the secular influence of the Pope; and Cardinal Borghese, a nephew of Paul V., is said to have hired some assassins who attempted to poignard him. The contumacy of Venice soon occasioned open strife. The government having instituted before a secular tribunal a prosecution against two ecclesiastics, the Pope launched against the Republic an interdict in all its ancient forms (April 17th, 1606). The Signory replied by a proclamation, in which they expressed their resolution to uphold their sovereign authority, and ordered the clergy to continue divine service, without regard to the Papal interdict; a command which was universally obeyed, except by the three orders of the Jesuits, Capuchins, and Theatines, who, persisting in their fidelity to the Pope, were banished from the Venetian territories. Paul V. now meditated open force against the refractory Republic, when Henry IV., to whose designs the friendship both of Venice and the Pope was needful, interposed his mediation. At his instance the Venetians made several concessions; but, supported by Spain, they resolutely refused to receive back the Jesuits, and Paul was compelled to concede the point.

Paul V. and
Venice.

Shortly after this affair, Henry, in pursuance of his plans against the House of Austria, began to sound the Pope concerning the liberation of Italy from Spanish domination, and the wresting of the Imperial Crown from the Habsburgs. Agreeably to his grand European scheme he held out to Paul the bait of Naples; and though the Pontiff did not venture to give his direct consent, Henry trusted that the first victory would secure it. With the same views he also made advances to Venice and the Duke of Savoy. Venice promised her aid in consideration of receiving a portion of the Milanese; and she was also to have Sicily, if the Allies succeeded in wresting that island from the Spaniards. The Duke of Savoy was attracted with the prospect of Milan and the Crown of Lom-

Schemes of
Henry IV.
against
Spain.

bardy. Charles Emmanuel's eldest son was to marry Elizabeth of France, Henry's eldest daughter; and the Duke was to claim Milan in right of his wife, a daughter of Philip II. of Spain, and by way of compensation for Belgium and Franche-Comté, bestowed upon his sister-in-law, Clara Eugenia. France, or at all events Sully, affected to renounce all her pretensions in Italy, and to seek nothing but the honour and glory of rescuing that peninsula from foreign domination; only Gaston, Duke of Anjou, Henry's third son, an infant two years old, was to be affianced to the heiress of Mantua and Montferrat. Henry, however, had not quite the disinterested views of his minister. His policy may be said to have survived by tradition to the present day, for it embraced a plan which in 1860 we saw realized by one of the supplanters of his dynasty: namely, to round off the French territory by the cession of Savoy, and perhaps also of Nice, by the Duke of Savoy, in return for the help of France in conquering Milan. In fact, Henry's scheme anticipated the modern union of *nationalities*. Henry aimed to unite under the sceptre of France all who spoke a Romance tongue on this side the Alps and Pyrenees, a design which would ultimately include Lorraine, Walloon Belgium, and Franche-Comté: and he had already begun to stir in this matter with regard to Lorraine, by demanding for the Dauphin the hand of the Duke of Bar's only daughter by his deceased wife, Henry's sister; a demand which the Duke had not ventured to refuse.¹

These plans were connected with another for striking a blow in the heart of Spain itself, which, however, was defeated by an unforeseen occurrence. Spain still contained many thousand families of Moriscoes, not only in Granada, but also in Valencia and Aragon, and even in Castile and Catalonia. Henry IV. had early in his reign opened secret communications with these discontented subjects of the Spanish Crown; and in a memorial addressed to the French King, the Moriscoes affirmed that they could raise an army of 80,000 men.² In 1605 a French agent employed in these intrigues had been detected and hanged in Valencia; a circumstance which served still further to inflame the bigoted hatred with which the unfortunate Moriscoes were regarded by the Spanish Court.

¹ For these negotiations see Sully, *Œconomies Royales*, and the *Mémoires* of Bassompierre and Fontenai-Mareuil.

² See *Mémoires* of La Force, t. i. p. 219 sqq. (ed La Grange, 1843).

The
Moriscoes
expelled
from Spain.

The Christianity which it had been attempted to inculcate upon that people during the last century had made no real progress, though forced conversions were accomplished; for the monks despatched to preach the Gospel to them, by way of supporting their arguments, were accompanied by the hangman. The Archbishop of Valencia had long endeavoured to persuade Philip III. to expel all the Moriscoes from Spain, or send them to the galleys, and educate their children in the Christian faith; the Archbishop of Toledo, who was brother to the Duke of Lerma, and Grand-Inquisitor, went still further, and demanded the death of all the infidel race, without distinction of age or sex. The humanity, or the self-interest of the lay nobility, the estates of many of whom would be ruined by the massacre or banishment of the Moors, opposed for a while the execution of these barbarous measures, nor did the Court of Spain deem it prudent to resort to them, while engaged in war with the revolted Netherlands; but scarcely had a long truce been concluded with the United Provinces, when an edict was published for the expulsion of the Moors from Valencia. An insurrection which the Moriscoes had attempted in the mountains was suppressed, and more than 130,000 of them were compelled to embark, and thrown upon the coast of Africa, where three-fourths of them perished of hunger and fatigue. The remainder succeeded in reaching Oran and Algiers.

On the 9th of December appeared another edict directing the embarkation of the Moors of Granada, Murcia, and Andalusia; and on the 10th of January, 1610, a third for the expulsion of those of Aragon, Catalonia, and Castile. These last were driven towards the Pyrenees, and were forbidden to carry with them either money or bills. Some 100,000 of them¹ passed into France, either by crossing the mountains, or taking their passage to Marseilles; but, in spite of the former tamperings of the French government with them, they did not fare much better than those expelled direct from the Spanish ports. Henry IV. published, indeed, an ordinance (February 22nd, 1610) which, however, was soon recalled, directing that they should be received and suffered to remain, but after making professions of Catholicism, an alternative

The
Moriscoes
in France.

¹ It must be observed that the accounts of the number of Moriscoes expelled from Spain are very discrepant, and range from 160,000 to a million.

which they had already rejected in their native homes; and that vessels should be provided for such of them as wished to depart. It was thought that large numbers of them would have been willing to embrace Protestantism; but Henry was afraid to take a step which would have excited the religious prejudices of the mass of the nation. Many of the Moriscoes became the victims of the fanatics through whose districts they passed; the greater part of them were detained for months on the Provençal coast for want of transport, and were reduced to a state of indescribable distress by the inhumanity and extortions of the officers appointed to superintend their embarkation; and when at last they contrived to get on board their vessels, numbers of them were robbed and even thrown into the sea by the sailors, while many more died of misery and privation. So numerous, it is said, were the corpses cast into the sea, that the inhabitants of Marseilles abstained from eating fish, and gave the name of *grenadines* to the sardines, as having banqueted on the flesh of the unhappy Moors.¹ Thus was consummated at vast expense,² and at the price of inflicting an incurable wound on the future prosperity of Spain, that inhuman system of persecution which had been carried on since the administration of Ximenes. At the time of the expulsion of the Moors Henry IV. was meditating open war against the House of Austria, both in Germany and Spain; and he was in hopes that he should be able to attack Philip III. soon enough to obtain the services of some of the Moriscoes. He was organizing two large armies destined to enter Spain at the opposite sides of San Sebastian and Perpignan; 14,000 men under Lesdiguières were ordered to join the Duke of Savoy in the operations contemplated in Italy; while Henry himself was preparing to lead another army to the assistance of the German Princes in the affair of the Duchy of Jülich.

Brought up in Spain, gloomy, fanatical, given to abstruse studies, fonder of observing the stars³ in his retirement at Prague than of attending to the affairs of his dominions, the Emperor Rodolph II., though himself unfit to govern, was yet

¹ Bouche, *Hist. de Provence*, t. ii. liv. x. p. 850; Viardot, *Hist. des Arabes et des Mores d'Espagne*, t. i. ch. vii.

² Sir F. Cottington's letters to Trumbull (in Winwood's *Memorials*, vol. iii.) contain many details respecting this persecution.

³ Rodolph's observatory at Prague was successively superintended

loath to resign any share of his power to his eldest surviving brother, Matthias, the heir presumptive of his hereditary lands; who, though himself not the model of a ruler, was better fitted than Rodolph by his manners and his German education to conduct the affairs of the Austrian dominions. It was with reluctance that Rodolph was at length compelled to intrust the administration of Hungary and Austria to Matthias, who, in the discharge of these functions, and without the approbation of the Emperor, made concessions to the Hungarian Protestants, and concluded with the Turks the peace of Sitvatorok already mentioned. In order to carry out these measures, Matthias had, indeed, by a family compact, virtually deprived Rodolph of his power. In April, 1606, he summoned to Vienna his younger brother, Maximilian, who had some years governed Tyrol, and his two cousins, the Archdukes Ferdinand and Leopold of Styria;¹ who, by a formal act declared Matthias head of the house of Habsburg, on account of the mental unsoundness betrayed from time to time by Rodolph.² To this act, which was kept secret, the Archduke Albert, Sovereign of the Netherlands, the only other surviving brother of the Emperor, also acceded. Matthias was already contemplating the deposition of Rodolph, and a year or two afterwards he openly manifested his hostility by convening at Presburg the Austrian, as well as the Hungarian, States (February 1st, 1608), which by an Act of Confederation agreed to support Matthias. This was, unquestionably, a revolutionary movement, and Rodolph ordered the Austrian and Hungarian States, thus unconstitutionally united, to separate; but he was not obeyed. Long negotiations ensued between the Emperor and Matthias, which, however, led to no result. It was evident that the differences between the brothers must be decided by arms. The bigoted government of Rodolph had caused the greatest discontent in Bohemia and Moravia; the latter province was in a state of open revolt.

The
Austrian
family com-
pact, 1606.

by two famous astronomers, Tycho Brahe and Kepler. The latter passed a year as Tycho Brahe's assistant; but the two philosophers did not live on the best terms, as Kepler's observations were often at variance with the theories of his principal. On Tycho's death, in October, 1601, Kepler was appointed his successor.

¹ Sons of the Archduke Charles, a younger brother of the Emperor Maximilian II., and founder of the Styrian branch of the Austrian family.

² Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. iii. S. 169.

Matthias, by the advice of his minister, Cardinal Klesel, entered it with an army, and advanced to Czaslau in Bohemia, where, after convoking the combined States of Austria and Moravia, he invited those of Bohemia also to a general assembly on the 4th of May. Rodolph parried this blow by summoning the Bohemian States to Prague, though, as the majority of them were Protestants, he could expect no favourable result; and meanwhile Matthias advanced with his army to the neighbourhood of that capital. Here he permitted the States to conduct the negotiations with the Emperor, or rather to name their terms; and on the 29th of June, 1608, a treaty¹ was concluded, by which Rodolph ceded Hungary to Matthias, with the title of King, as well as the Archduchy of Austria above and below the Enns. Matthias also received the title of King-Elect of Bohemia, with the consent of the Bohemian States; who expressed their wish that he should immediately undertake the government of Moravia. On the other hand, Matthias took upon himself Rodolph's debts in Hungary and Austria, and abandoned to him his own share of Upper Austria.²

Neither the Bohemians, however, nor the States of Hungary and Austria were content with these capitulations. The latter insisted upon the confirmation, nay, even the extension of the religious liberties granted to them by the Emperor Maximilian II., nor would they do homage to Matthias as their new lord till he had complied with their demands. After long negotiations Matthias found himself compelled to yield, and on the 19th of March, 1609, he signed a capitulation conceding complete religious toleration. The Bohemian Diet, which had been assembled to declare Matthias successor to the Crown of Bohemia, had also demanded the re-establishment of all their ancient privileges in matters of religion, which, through the influence of Spain and the Jesuits, had been much curtailed during Rodolph's reign, and Rodolph had referred the settlement of the question to a future assembly. When this met, Rodolph's counsellors refused to

¹ In Glafey, *Pragmatische Gesch. Böhmens*, S. 565 ff.

² Tyrol was called *Upper Austria*. *Lower Austria* comprehended the district above and below the Enns. *Inner Austria* comprised Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Austrian Istria, Austrian Friuli, and the Litoral. *Further Austria* was the Vorarlberg, the Breisgau, and the various pieces of Austrian territory in Swabia.

recognize any other Protestant sect than that of the Utraquists, although many of the leading men in Bohemia, as Count Schlick, Count Thurn, and the eloquent Wenzel von Budowa, were either Lutherans or belonged to the freethinking fanatics called *Picards*. The Diet, finding that they could obtain no concessions, appointed a provisional government of thirty directors to sit at Prague; they raised an army, and named Count Thurn, Leonard von Fels, and John von Bubna to the command of it; and they published the articles for the maintenance of which they had resorted to these violent and extraordinary measures. Rodolph, who had neither troops nor money, by the advice of the Spanish and Saxon ambassadors, agreed to a capitulation, with the secret determination of evading it; and on the 12th of July, 1609, he signed the celebrated Royal Charter (*Majestäts-Brief*) which was the immediate occasion of the Thirty Years' War. By this instrument liberty of conscience was allowed to all Bohemians who belonged to certain recognized religions; they were admitted to the University of Prague; they received permission to build churches on all Crown lands, to appoint consistories, and even to choose protectors, a thing at variance with all good government; and all ordinances which the Emperor or his successors might hereafter issue in contravention of the charter were declared beforehand null and void.¹

Rodolph's
Charter to
the Bohe-
mians.

There was a Prince, afterwards destined to obtain the Imperial sceptre, who regarded all these concessions to the Protestants with the most lively abhorrence. The Archduke Ferdinand of Styria possessed energy and talents, and an autocratic disposition; he had been bred up in the principles of Spain and the Jesuits, and looked upon the uprooting of Protestantism as the special vocation of his life. In this respect he trod in the footsteps of his father Charles, who, at the beginning of the Catholic reaction, had committed to the flames 12,000 Lutheran Bibles and other books. In like manner Ferdinand, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, had effected holocausts of heretic works, at Gratz and Laibach, and in the former place founded a convent of Capuchins on the spot where they had been consumed. He resorted to *dragonnades* against his refractory Protestant

Ferdinand
of Styria.

¹ Dumont, t. v. pt. ii. 115. An abstract in Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. iii. S. 201 ff.

subjects; and even in some towns erected, *in terrorem*, gibbets in the market-places, though he seems not actually to have used them. In his cousin¹ and schoolfellow, Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, afterwards the first Bavarian Elector, Ferdinand found a strenuous coadjutor of kindred principles; and both were destined to become leading figures in that great war of bigotry and intolerance which disfigured the first half of the seventeenth century. In other respects Maximilian possessed good talents, and was one of the best rulers Bavaria ever had. An act of aggression, which at once gratified Maximilian's religious prejudices and augmented his dominions, had no little influence in producing that state of things in Germany which rendered possible the Thirty Years' War.

Donauwörth, a free Imperial city in the Circle of Suabia, but to which the Dukes of Bavaria asserted some ancient pretensions, had adopted the Protestant confession; but it held within its walls a small minority of Catholics, through whom the Jesuits were endeavouring to foment a reaction. In 1606 the abbot of the Benedictine abbey of Holy Cross thought fit to marshal in the streets a procession conducted with all that gorgeous pageantry in which the Romish Church delights, though such things had before been tolerated only in a quiet way. Disturbances followed; the procession was hooted and assaulted by the mob; and Maximilian at length procured from the Aulic Council a decree by which Donauwörth was placed under the ban of the Empire, and the execution of the sentence intrusted to himself (August, 1607). As the inhabitants showed no signs of submission, Maximilian, in November, after publishing the ban with the customary solemnity, despatched some troops to take possession of the town; together with four Jesuits and two barefooted friars to bring the inhabitants to a proper sense of religion. A demand was then made for the expenses of executing the ban, which were estimated so high as to render payment impossible; and thus Donauwörth, from a free Imperial Protestant city, was converted into a Catholic provincial town of Bavaria.

The "Troubles of Donauwörth" are important in general history only by their consequences. The German Protestant

¹ Maximilian was the son of Duke William II. of Bavaria, brother of Ferdinand's mother, Mary.

Princes had, in 1603, entered into an alliance at Heidelberg to protect themselves from the innovations daily made by Austria and Bavaria, and being alarmed by the proceedings at Donauwörth, convened an assembly at Ahausen, an ancient convent in the territory of Anspach. Here the Elector Palatine, Frederick IV., and Prince Christian of Anhalt, who had summoned the meeting, were met by Joachim Ernest and Christian, the two Margraves of Brandenburg-Anspach and Brandenburg-Culmbach, together with the Count Palatine, Philip Louis of Neuburg, and the Duke John Frederick of Würtemberg; and they formed, for a period of ten years, a defensive alliance, called THE PROTESTANT UNION (May 14th, 1608).¹ The objections which they took against the proceedings at Donauwörth were, that it was not competent to the Aulic Council² to pronounce sentence against a free Imperial city, such power residing only in the Diets and the Imperial Chamber; and further, that the execution of the ban had been intrusted to a Prince of the Circle of Bavaria, whilst the decree was against a State of the Circle of Suabia. By the Act of Union, the allies agreed to provide an army and a common chest, and they named the Elector Palatine to be their director in time of peace; but in case of war, any Prince whose territory should be attacked, when the general affairs of the Union were to be directed by a council of war. At subsequent meetings held at Rothenburg on the Tauber and Hall in Suabia, the Margrave Joachim Ernest was appointed general of the Union out of the territories of the allied Princes, with Christian of Anhalt for his lieutenant. The Union was eventually joined by fifteen Imperial cities, including Strassburg, Ulm, and Nuremberg, by the Landgrave Maurice of Hesse, and by John Sigismund, the new Elector of Brandenburg.

This alliance on the part of the Protestants provoked a

¹ The Act is in Sattler's *Gesch. Württembergs*. B. vi. Beil. 4. There is an abstract of it in Menzel, B. iii. S. 173.

² The Aulic Council (*Reichshofrath*) was established in its newer form by Ferdinand I. in 1559. As the members of it were all named by the Emperor, it was of course subservient to his will; and he endeavoured to draw under its jurisdiction cases which should have been decided by the Imperial Chamber. But its authority was constantly disputed by the German States, and did not obtain entire recognition till the peace of Westphalia. See Pfeffel, sub anno 1512 (t. ii. p. 98 sq.).

The
Catholic
League.

counter one of the Catholics, organized by Maximilian of Bavaria. At his invitation the plenipotentiaries of the Bishops of Würzburg, Constance, Augsburg, Passau, Ratisbon, and other prelates assembled at Munich in July, 1609; and the Catholic States of the Circles of Suabia and Bavaria agreed to enter into an alliance which afterwards obtained the name of the CATHOLIC LEAGUE. The alliance purported to be only a defensive one; but in case of need great powers were intrusted to Maximilian as its director, who had raised a little standing army under the command of Count Tilly, already notorious by the cruelties which, in the service of the Emperor, he had committed against the Protestants. In August the League was joined by the three spiritual Electors; and subsequently an alliance was made with the Pope, and subsidies demanded from Spain. Thus the great religious parties of Germany were formally arrayed against each other: for open violence nothing was wanting but the occasion, and this was afforded by a dispute which arose respecting succession to the Duchy of Jülich.

Succession
of Cleves,
Jülich, and
Berg.

On the 25th of March, 1609, had died, without issue, John William, Duke of Cleves, Jülich and Berg, Count of the Mark and Ravensberg, and Lord of Ravenstein. Numerous claimants to the Cleves succession arose, of whom the most important were the following four: 1. The Albertine, or then Electoral, House of Saxony, which founded its pretensions on a promise of the reversion of the Duchies of Jülich and Berg given by the Emperor Frederick III. in 1483. 2. The Ernestine, or Ducal, House of Saxony alleged, besides this promise common to both branches of the family, the marriage contract between the Elector John Frederick and Sybille of Cleves, Jülich and Berg (1526); which had been confirmed by the Emperor Charles V., the Diet of the Empire, and the States of the three Duchies. 3. John Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg, claimed by right of his wife, Anne of Prussia, daughter of Mary Eleanor of Cleves-Jülich-Berg, eldest sister of the last Duke, as well as by the letters patent of Charles V., 1546, confirmed by his successor in 1566 and 1580, which appointed the Duke's sisters to the succession. 4. Philip Louis, Palsgrave of Neuburg, who also pleaded the claim of his wife, Anne of Cleves-Jülich-Berg, younger sister of the deceased Duke, by whom he had a son, Wolfgang William. The whole question, therefore, turned on the following points: Whether

the contested duchies were solely male fiefs, or female as well? Whether the reversion of the House of Saxony, founded on the assumption of their being male fiefs, was to be preferred to a subsequent privilege in favour of the sisters of the last Duke? Whether such a privilege, first granted in 1526, could be opposed to the marriage contract of 1546? and lastly, Whether the daughter of the eldest sister could contest the claim of the son of the youngest sister? ¹

In the present posture of affairs the question of this succession derived its chief importance from the circumstance that, though Protestantism had spread around them, the Dukes of Cleves-Jülich-Berg had remained firmly attached to the orthodox Church, thus constituting one of the few large Catholic lay Powers among the temporal Princes of Germany. As the various claims had arisen from the awards of his predecessors, the Emperor Rodolph II. evoked the cause before the Aulic Council, as the proper tribunal in all feudal disputes; and to this course the Elector of Saxony, always the subservient friend of the House of Austria, readily consented.

That unfortunate strife between the Lutheran and Calvinist divines, which divided the German Protestants into two hostile camps, had nowhere been attended with more disastrous effects than in Saxony. During the latter portion of the sixteenth century the Elector Augustus, brother and successor of Maurice, had introduced a sort of Inquisition into his dominions; and by the Confession of Faith styled the *Concordien-Formel*, or Formula of Concord, published in 1580, had, as it were, erected Lutheranism into a Protestant Papacy. The confession was forced upon clergymen and schoolmasters; those who refused it were turned out by hundreds from office; Melancthon himself was abused in his grave, and the adherents of his principles were designated by the names of *Philipists* or *Crypto-Calvinists*. Calvinists were regarded as children of perdition, to be exterminated from the earth; and from this period Saxony approximated much more nearly to the doctrines of Rome than to those of the Reformed Church. Christian I., the son and successor of Augustus, was rather more moderate. He died in 1591, leaving a minor son, Christian II.; but before he was buried the Saxon nobles rose

The Saxon
electorate.

¹ Pfeffel, *Hist. d'Allemagne*, t. ii. p. 238 sq.

against his Chancellor Krell and his party, who from their moderation were suspected of Calvinism. Many of them were persecuted and banished; Krell himself was thrown into prison, where he was kept ten years; and after repeated tortures, was at length beheaded. Christian II. had few good qualities, and died suddenly in July, 1611. He was succeeded by his brother, John George, whose conduct contributed greatly to enhance the sufferings of Germany during the Thirty Years' War. As the Emperor naturally preferred such good friends and semi-Catholic Princes as the Saxon Electors to the other claimants of the Cleves inheritance, he made no difficulty in granting to Christian II. the eventual investiture of the litigated fiefs; but, till a definitive judgment should be pronounced, he sequestered them into the hands of his cousin Leopold, Bishop of Passau, the brother of Ferdinand of Styria. This step, however, proved fatal to the Saxon cause. The Elector of Brandenburg and the Palsgrave of Neuburg, reckoning on the support of France and the United Provinces, resolved to make common cause; and regardless of the Emperor's prohibition to the subjects of the duchies to acknowledge any lord till the Imperial decision was awarded, they jointly occupied those territories, and assumed the title of "Princes in possession."

The reliance which the Protestant Princes placed on Henry IV. was not unfounded. In the autumn of 1602, Maurice, Landgrave of Hesse, surnamed "the Learned," had visited his court *incognito* with the view of effecting a German Protestant League under the protectorate of France. Schemes were agitated of procuring the Imperial Crown for Henry, or else for the Duke of Bavaria, who, with all his fellow-feeling for the House of Austria in matters of religion, harboured a secret jealousy of its greatness. The support of Bavaria would have brought with it that of all Catholic Germany; but the times were not yet ripe for action. Maurice and Henry, however, parted on the best terms; the latter assured the Landgrave that, in his inmost soul, he was still devoted to "the religion," and that he should make a fresh public confession of it before he died,¹ assurances which contrast strongly with those which he was always giving to the clergy,

¹ It is the Landgrave himself who relates this anecdote. See *Correspondance de Henri IV. avec Maurice le Savant*, edited by Rommel, ap. Martin, t. x. p. 521.

the French parliament, and the Court of Rome, and forcibly illustrate Henry's own admission that the law of necessity made him say one thing while he meant another. He was easily induced to listen to the applications of the Elector of Brandenburg and the Palsgrave for assistance, and on his representations the States of Berg, Cleves, the Mark, and Ravenstein consented to put their fortresses into the hands of those Princes, but on condition that the Roman Catholic worship should be maintained. The city of Jülich, on the other hand, which was under the influence of the Margravine of Burgau, fourth sister of the late Duke, declared for the opposite party, and admitted the captain of the Archduke Leopold, who had already assembled an army, and who was supported by the Belgian Archdukes (December, 1609).

In November, 1609, the Prince of Condé, Henry IV.'s nephew, carried off his wife, Charlotte of Montmorenci, to whom Henry was attached, into the Spanish Netherlands, and placed her under the protection of the Archdukes Albert and Clara Eugenia; whilst he himself took shelter at Cologne, and afterwards set off for the Court of Philip III.¹ Henry thereupon warned the Archdukes not to shelter his "nephew," under pain of incurring his hostility. Albert and Clara Eugenia, according to their custom, beat about till they had received instructions from the Court of Spain; which, while it affected to interpose between Henry and Condé only for the good of both parties, recommended the Archdukes to give the fugitives an asylum. But that this was the real cause of war cannot for a moment be supposed. Henry's conduct on this occasion was guided by the advice of the cold and politic Sully; who pointed out that now, when the House of Habsburg was hampered by its domestic quarrels, was the moment to strike a blow; and he contrasted the disorder of the Empire with the unity of France, and the prosperous state of her finances. Long, indeed, before the flight of Condé the French arsenals had resounded with the din of preparation, and negotiations had been opened which embraced the greater part of Europe. Early in 1610 Henry had concluded at Hall, in Suabia, a treaty with the German Protestant Union to uphold the rights of the inheritors of Cleves, and to drive from

Henry IV.
and Char-
lotte of
Montmo-
renci.

Henry's
treaty with
the Union.

¹ *Correspondance de Henri IV. avec Maurice le Savant*, edited by Rommel, ap. Martin, t. x. p. 555.

Jülich the Archduke Leopold. France promised to raise 10,000 men; the confederated Princes as many more; the Dutch, who entered warmly into the affair, in the hope of seizing the Spanish Netherlands, engaged to provide 17,000 or 18,000 men; the King of Denmark favoured the cause, and even the unwarlike English King, James I., embarked in the quarrel and promised a contingent of 4,000 men.

Projects
of Henry.

The views of Henry IV. and Sully embraced the wresting of the Imperial sceptre from the House of Austria; a scheme which appeared to be feasible only by enticing the Duke of Bavaria with the hope of obtaining it. The Elector of Brandenburg and the Elector Palatine had consented to accept a Catholic Emperor, but with guarantees for religion; the vote of Ernest of Bavaria, Elector of Cologne, uncle of the candidate, might be reckoned on; but a fourth vote was still necessary to secure a majority. The only other Protestant Elector was Christian of Saxony, a Lutheran, but, as we have said, devoted to the Imperial House. It was resolved, therefore, that if he obstinately adhered to that alliance, and continued to betray the common cause of Protestantism, the act by which Charles V. had deprived John Frederick of the Saxon Electorate should be declared null and void, and that dignity be restored to the Ernestine branch of the House of Saxony. It was hoped that the resistance of the Imperial family would be paralyzed by the distracted condition of their dominions, and that anti-dynastic revolutions might be excited in Hungary and Bohemia, and national Princes substituted there for the ruling house. French and German envoys were employed to propagate these schemes even in Transylvania and Wallachia; while from the north the King of Sweden and his son had assured Henry of their good wishes. It does not appear how far Maximilian of Bavaria himself had entered into this plan for transferring to him the Empire, although Sully positively asserts that he gave his consent to it;¹ yet it is certain that he remained perfectly quiet at the time of the French King's projected invasion, notwithstanding that the members of the Protestant Union had taken up arms.

Plan to
make
Maximilian
Emperor.

Henry's
prepara-
tions.

The preparations of Henry IV. were on the grandest scale. Besides the armies destined for Italy and Spain, as already

¹ *Mémoires*, t. viii. p. 229 (Petitot). Cf. Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. iii. SS. 130, 176.

mentioned, he had prepared, instead of the 10,000 men promised to the German Princes, an army of more than 30,000, which he intended to lead in person to Jülich. The plan of the campaign was to seize all the passages of the Meuse, and to surprise Charleroi, Maestricht, and Namur, while at the same time the Dutch were to blockade the Flemish harbours; the Belgian democracy was to be invited to rebellion; the nobles who possessed any jurisdiction were to be expelled; and a Republic was to be proclaimed. A junction was to be formed at Düren or Stablo with the German Princes and Maurice of Nassau; in case of prompt success in the north, Franche-Comté was next to be attacked; and then, according to circumstances, the King was either to march into Italy or Bohemia, and to call upon the Germans to decide the great question about the Empire. The Pope, alarmed at these mighty preparations, endeavoured to effect an accommodation. The Emperor and the Catholic King were disposed to make large concessions; the Belgian Archdukes granted a passage to the French army, and agreed to send back the Princess of Condé; and even Henry himself felt some natural hesitation on the brink of so momentous an enterprise. His plans had been differently received in France, according to the tempers and views of men. They were of course regarded with an evil eye by the old fanatical Catholic party, whose resentment he dreaded. The Jesuits were at work spreading sinister rumours; it was said that the King meant to destroy the Catholic religion in Germany; the cries of the soldiers were commented on, who declared that they would follow the King anywhere, even against the Pope; and sermons were daily delivered containing invectives against the Edict of Nantes, and the government and person of the King. Nay, even the Queen herself, and her favourite Concini, were in secret correspondence with Madrid.

The cares of Henry were aggravated by a presentiment of his own approaching fate. Dark rumours of conspiracies were floating about, and he communicated to Sully his conviction that he should be murdered on the occasion of the first great public solemnity. Such an occasion was approaching. On the 20th of March, 1610, Henry had issued a decree conferring the regency on his wife, Mary de' Medici, during his absence from the kingdom, but subject to a council of fifteen persons, with whom all the effective authority would

Coronation
of Mary
de' Medici.

lie. As the Queen, like any other member of it, had only a single vote, Mary's self-love was sorely wounded by this step; and she persuaded Henry to complete the long-deferred ceremony of her coronation, although he grudged both the expense of that pageant and the delay which it would cause in his departure.

Henry
assassin-
ated by
Ravaillac.

And now everything was arranged for carrying out that grand scheme of policy which Henry had so long been meditating. The troops had begun to move; the Queen had been crowned with great pomp at St. Denis by the Cardinal de Joyeuse, May 13th; her solemn entry into Paris was fixed for the 16th; and three days afterwards the King was to set off for the army. But on the 14th, while passing in his carriage from the Rue St. Honoré into the Rue de la Ferronnerie, its progress was arrested by two carts; and at this moment a man mounted on the wheel and stabbed the King with a knife between the ribs. Henry threw up his arms, exclaiming "I am wounded;" and the assassin seized the opportunity to repeat the blow more fatally, by stabbing him to the heart. He never spoke more. The murderer was seized by the King's suite, and turned out to be one François Ravaillac, who had begun a noviciate in the convent of the Feuillants at Paris, and had afterwards been a schoolmaster in his native town of Angoulême. In his examination he assigned as his motives for the deed, the King's having neglected to convert the Huguenots, and his design of making war upon the Pope.

His char-
acter.

Thus perished Henry IV.,¹ and with him his extensive projects, at a time when his robust constitution, at the age of nearly fifty-seven, still promised many years of life. The main features of his character will have been gathered from his history, for his virtues and defects were alike without concealment. In the more private intercourse of life his tastes and habits were of the simplest kind.² Some parts of his conduct it would be difficult to defend; but it may be easier to rail at his faults and weaknesses than to imitate his virtues.

¹ See Michelet, *Henri IV. et Richelieu*.

² Ranke, *Französ. Gesch.* B. ii. S. 100.

CHAPTER XXX

THE COMING STRUGGLE

NO sooner had the murder of Henry IV. been perpetrated, than the Duke of Epernon, who had been an eye-witness of it, hastened, in his capacity of colonel-general of the French infantry, to appoint the guard at the Louvre, and to occupy with troops the principal places of the capital. The ministers of the late King, Sillery, Villeroi, and Jeannin, with whom Epernon and Guise agreed, advised Mary to seize the regency before the Princes of the blood should have time to dispute it with her; and Epernon proceeded to the convent of the Augustinians, where the Parliament had been assembled, and overawed it by his language. That body, however, was of itself sufficiently inclined to exert a privilege which did not constitutionally belong to it. Henry had been murdered at four o'clock in the afternoon; before seven, the Parliament brought to Mary de' Medici an *arrêt* conferring upon her the regency; to which, indeed, she had already been appointed by Henry, though for a different purpose, and with less extensive powers.

Mary de'
Medici
seizes the
regency.

In these proceedings, Sully, the prime minister of Henry, was conspicuous by his absence. At the time of the King's murder, Sully was waiting for him at the arsenal: instead of Henry came a gentleman of his suite, bringing the knife, which still reeked with his blood. Sully's first impulse was to mount his horse and ride towards the Louvre; in the Rue St. Honoré he was met by Vitry, the captain of the guards, who, with tears in his eyes, implored him to go no further; it was rumoured, he said, that the plot had been hatched in high places, and had many ramifications. Sully turned his horse's head, and shut himself up in the Bastille; whence he sent a message to his son-in-law, the Duke of Rohan, then in Cham-

Action of
Sully.

pagne, to hasten to Paris with the 6,000 Swiss of whom he was colonel-general. But the Queen sent to assure Sully of her confidence; and on the following morning he appeared at the Louvre; Mary brought to him the infant Louis XIII., and while Sully embraced the heir of his late friend and master, the Queen besought him to serve the son as he had served the father. Deceitful words! Concini was already director of Mary and the State. On the same morning, the regency of the Queen was solemnly confirmed in a *Lit de Justice*, at which the youthful King presided, and in infantine tones appointed his mother to be his tutor.¹

Execution
of Ravail-
lac.

The regency of Mary de' Medici was not unpopular. She was now in the meridian of womanly beauty; and in her progresses through the capital she was received with the acclamations of the people. But they also lamented the loss of Henry, whose merits were not appreciated till he was dead. It was difficult to save Ravallac, when proceeding to execution, from the fury of the populace; his remains, instead of being burnt pursuant to his sentence, were seized by the crowd and torn to pieces; even the peasants of the neighbourhood carried off portions of them to burn in their villages. The Sorbonne, at the instance of the Parliament of Paris, issued a decree condemning the principles from which the assassination had proceeded, and the Parliament itself ordered the book of Mariana, in which that Jesuit sanctions regicide, to be burnt.

First acts
of the
Regent.

Mary de' Medici had stolen a march upon the Princes of the blood, whose characters did not render them very formidable. Condé, as we have seen, was absent in Italy; of his two uncles, one, the Prince of Conti, was almost imbecile, the other, the Count of Soissons, who had absented himself from Court, was entirely venal. He arrived in Paris on the 17th of May, but abandoned all his pretensions for a sum of 200,000 crowns and an annual pension of 50,000. Henry of Condé, first Prince of the blood, was, as already related, in a state of rebellion against Henry IV.; but he protested his devotion to the young King, and finding that he should be well received, returned to Paris in the middle of July, when most of the nobility, who were disgusted with the conduct of Concini, and other rapacious favourites by whom the Queen

¹ Michelet, *Henri IV.* p. 203.

was surrounded, went out to meet and welcome him; and he entered the capital at the head of 1,500 gentlemen.¹ But Condé was as venal as his uncle. At his first interview with the Queen, Mary was all grace, the Prince all submission. The treasure amassed by Henry IV. in the Bastille for his projected war supplied Mary with unlimited means of seduction, and the County of Clermont, a pension of 200,000 livres, the Hotel Gondy, with 30,000 crowns to furnish it, together with a seat in the Council, converted Condé from a rival into a subject. The Queen also gained the leading nobles by giving them pensions and governments;² the people by remitting several unpopular ordinances and taxes; the Huguenots by confirming the Edict of Nantes. Her new situation seemed to have roused a fresh spirit in her. She was up at sunrise to receive her privy council; she devoted the whole morning to business; after dinner she admitted to an audience all who demanded it; and in the evening she discussed her affairs with confidential friends.

But there was one man who was not to be gained. Sully viewed with aversion both the domestic and foreign policy of Mary, so contrary to all his former projects. He resolved to retire, and in October, during the *sacre* of Louis XIII. at Rheims, he obtained leave to visit his estates, and set off with a determination never to return. His administrative talents were soon missed; nothing went right in his absence; and, at the pressing solicitation of Mary and her ministers, he again returned to the helm. He was now about fifty years of age, in the full maturity of his powers, and ambitious to employ his talents in those schemes for the benefit of France which had so long engrossed his attention; but he met with a furious opposition from the rapacious courtiers and nobles; his life was even threatened, and in January, 1611, he found himself compelled finally to relinquish office. From this time till his death in 1641, at the age of eighty-one, his life was passed in retirement on his estates of Rosni, Boisbelle, Sully,

Retirement
of Sully.

¹ *Mém. d'Estrées* (in Petitot, 2^de sér. t. xvi. p. 189). If the Queen had not persuaded some gentlemen to remain with the King, says Pontchartrain (*Mém.* t. i. p. 418), not one would have stayed in Paris.

² Jeannin admitted to the States-General in 1614 that pensions, which under Henry IV. had been less than two millions per annum, then figured for a sum of 5,650,000 livres! *Rélation des Etats-Gén.* in the *Arch. Curieuses*, 2^de sér. t. i.; Fontenai-Mareuil, t. i. p. 134.

and Villebon; and it was reserved for him, at length, to see his plans realized in part by Richelieu.¹

Except in one point the policy of Henry IV. and his great minister was entirely abandoned. The Queen had always favoured a Spanish alliance, and particularly desired the Spanish match proposed during the lifetime of her husband, in which views she was supported by Concini, his wife La Galigai, and the Duke of Epemon. Even the ministers Sillery, Villeroi, and Jeannin were for conciliating Spain; but at the same time they recommended that the alliances with Great Britain, the United Provinces, the German Protestant Princes, and the Turks should be confirmed; and though three-fourths of the army of Champagne were disbanded, they persuaded the Council, in spite of the opposition of the Jesuits, that the treaty of Hall should be carried out. It was a sort of compromise between the parties, and the last concession to the policy of Henry IV.

The Bishop and Archduke Leopold had already begun to think of treating for the surrender of Jülich, when the news of Henry IV.'s assassination determined him to a vigorous resistance; and Rauschenberger, his commandant in that city, had succeeded in defending it not only against the two German Princes, but also against Maurice of Nassau, who had appeared before it in the last week in July. In August, however, the besieging forces were joined by some 14,000 French, under the Marshal de la Châtre, with the Duke of Rohan for his lieutenant, and on the first of September Rauschenberger found it necessary to capitulate. A Prince of the House of Brandenburg now obtained the government of Jülich and its territory, although the Emperor Rodolph had, in June, formally invested with it Christian II., Elector of Saxony.² The Archduke Leopold continued to maintain some troops in Alsace, which committed terrible disorders, till the Union sent an army against him, compelled him to dismiss his troops and enter into the treaty of Willstatt. The Elector Palatine, Frederick IV., one of the chief leaders of the Protestant Union, died in September, 1610, leaving by his will the Duke of Zweibrücken (Deux-Ponts), a Calvinist, the guardian of his minor

¹ For Sully and his fall, see, besides the *Économies Royales*, the *Mémoires* of Fontenai-Mareuil, of Pontchartrain, and of the Duke of Rohan.

² Menzel, B. iii. S. 210.

Leopold
driven from
Jülich.

son, Frederick V.; although the Palsgrave of Neuburg, a Lutheran, was his nearest kinsman.¹ The Duke of Zweibrücken now became a director of the Union.

The politics of the French Court now underwent a complete change. The idea began to spread that the union of France and Spain, the two greatest monarchies of Europe, was necessary to the peace and happiness of Christendom; though Mary de' Medici, in adopting it, was guided principally by considerations of domestic policy. She was alarmed at the conduct of the Prince of Condé, who held several governments in France, and who had strengthened himself by connections with some of the chief nobles; as his uncle Soissons, the Duke of Nevers, Lesdiguières, Count Bucquoi, and others, and especially the Duke of Bouillon and his party.² Condé wanted to obtain the chief voice in the executive as well as in the Council, and the promise of the constablership on the next vacancy; but he cloaked his personal ambition by making demands for what seemed the public good. The Queen preserved awhile the peace of France by conciliating Condé and the disaffected nobles by large gifts, governments, and pensions. The Huguenots had also begun to stir, whom it was not possible thus to conciliate. They still formed a very formidable power in the State. At the beginning of the century they possessed 760 parish churches, and about 200 fortified towns; they counted in their ranks 4,000 of the nobility, and could easily bring into the field an army of 25,000 men.³ They demanded to hold their assemblies, as in the time of Henry IV., threatening to do so without leave if permission were not granted; and in the summer of 1611 they had a stormy meeting at Saumur. All these things were motives with the Queen for pressing the alliance with Spain. The Spanish Court was also anxious for it; and the Duke of Feria had been despatched to Paris with the friendly message that all grounds for hostility had vanished on the death of Henry IV. The negotiations for the marriages between Louis XIII. and Doña Anne, the eldest Infanta of Spain, and between Louis's eldest sister,

Alliance
between
France and
Spain.

¹ Frederick V.'s mother was the celebrated Louisa Juliana, whose life has been written by Spanheim (*Mémoires de Louise Juliane Electrice Palatine*. Leyden, 1645).

² Henry de la Tour, Viscount of Turenne, had obtained the Duchy of Bouillon by his marriage with Charlotte de la Marck.

³ *Relazione* of Badoer, ap. Ranke, *Popes*, vol. ii. p. 182.

Elizabeth of France, and Don Philip, Prince of the Asturias, were not, however, brought to a conclusion till August, 1612. In these contracts, Don Philip renounced all future pretensions to the French Crown, and Doña Anne gave up all claim to the Spanish inheritance.¹ With the marriage treaties another was also arranged by which each government engaged not to support, either directly or indirectly, the rebellious subjects of the other: a point of great importance to France, but of very little moment to Spain since the conclusion of the truce with Holland. The alliance of the two leading Catholic Powers was welcome to the clergy, and especially to the Pope, who did all he could to promote it. He hoped to derive advantage from it not only with regard to the Protestants, but also the Gallican Church: for the peace of Christendom, as it was called by the contracting Powers, concerned only that of the Catholic world.

The *Etats-
Généraux*,
1614.

The Spanish marriages furnished materials for complaint and sedition to the malcontent French Princes. In 1614, Condé, Mayenne, Nevers, Bouillon, and other nobles attempted an absurd revolt, which was soon put down, and terminated by the peace of Ste. Menehould, May 15th. In one of the articles, Condé insisted upon the convocation of the *Etats-Généraux*; which the Queen accordingly assembled at Paris in the following October, although the Prince secretly let her know that he was not in earnest in the matter. This assembly of the States-General is chiefly remarkable as being the last under the French monarchy before 1789. It ended in the dismissal of the *Tiers Etat* (March, 1615); their chamber was locked up, and they were forbidden again to meet. Their next assembly, in 1789, was the beginning of the downfall of the French monarchy. The *Etats* of 1614 are also memorable as being the first occasion on which Richelieu appeared in public life. Although not yet thirty years of age, he was already so distinguished by his talents that he was elected spokesman of the clergy; and he displayed in that capacity, by his masculine eloquence, the genius which was to wield for a period the destinies of France.

Richelieu.

Armand Jean du Plessis, the third son of a gentleman of Poitou, who, besides the estate of Plessis, in that province, also inherited the lordships of Richelieu, Bèçay and Chillou,

¹ The definitive treaties, signed August 25th, 1612, are in Dumont, t. v. pt. ii. p. 215; cf. *Arch. de Simancas*, ap. Capefigue, *Richelieu et Mazarin*, t. ii. p. 112 sqq.

was born at Paris, September 5th, 1585. His father had been a captain in Henry IV.'s guard, and Armand also chose the military profession; with which view he acquired all the accomplishments of a cavalier, and especially a skill in horsemanship, on which he piqued himself through life. But the family was in straitened circumstances. Henry IV., who loved to reward his old servants, had indeed bestowed on the eldest brother a pension of 1,200 crowns, and on Alphonse the second, the bishopric of Luçon, besides other preferments. But Alphonse, a prey to religious fanaticism, soon resolved to resign his bishopric, and turn Carthusian; and the family, unwilling to see that valuable preferment pass from their hands, procured from the Court the nomination of Armand to the see in place of his brother. Armand, with the energy natural to his character, resolved to qualify himself for his new career; and, shutting himself up in a country house, near Paris, with a doctor of Louvain, he devoted himself for a year or two to the study of theology with an application which is said to have injured his health.¹

Nevertheless Richelieu entered on his episcopal functions at the early age of twenty-one, after making a journey to Rome for his consecration (April, 1607), where he is said to have charmed Pope Paul V. by an elegant Latin oration. After his return to France he appears to have applied himself with some diligence to his episcopal duties, though he paid occasional visits to the Court. He was elected to represent the clergy of Poitou, Fontenai, and Niort, in the States-General; and the speech which he delivered as the organ of the priesthood laid the foundation of his political fortune.² To a modern reader, indeed, it may appear somewhat prolix and old-fashioned; but on the whole it marks an era in the progress of French eloquence, especially by the absence of the tedious display of erudition then in vogue. In an eloquent passage he vehemently denounced the exclusion of the clergy from all share in the government; and complained that so debased was the Gallican Church that it seemed as if the honour of serving God rendered its priests unfit to serve the King, His image upon earth. He concluded his speech with some compliments to the Queen, and by expressing a wish to

His appearance at the States-General.

¹ On this subject see Dreux du Radier, *Bibliothèque Hist. du Poitou*, t. iii. p. 374; Le Clerc, *Vie du Card. de Richelieu*, t. i. p. 5.

² In Petitot, 2^de sér. t. xi. p. 201 sqq.

see the Spanish marriages accomplished. After the close of the assembly he did not return to his diocese, but remained at Paris, in the hope, apparently, of obtaining such employment as he had hinted at; but he had yet to wait a year or two for the attainment of his object.

Louis XIII.
declared
of age.

Just before the meeting of the States-General, Louis XIII., who had entered his fourteenth year, September 27th, had been declared major; a step by which Mary de' Medici, in losing the title of Regent, only fixed her power on a firmer basis, so long as the King, still by nature a minor, continued to be obedient to her counsels. In order to effect the Spanish marriages as speedily as possible, she arranged a journey into Guienne, when the French and Spanish princesses were to be exchanged. On the 9th of August, 1615, Condé published a hostile manifesto, demanding the postponement of the marriages till the King was really of marriageable years; and being supported by several of the nobles, as well as by the Huguenots, then holding their triennial assembly at Grenoble, he began to levy soldiers. The Parliament of Paris, aware of the support which they might expect from Condé's faction, had also displayed the most refractory symptoms; they had addressed the Queen in a violent remonstrance, and in particular they had complained of the employment in high offices of certain persons, whom they did not name, some of whom were foreigners; but Condé supplied the omission by naming the Marshal d'Ancre, the Chancellor, and two or three others. Concini, Mary's brilliant favourite, although he had never borne arms, had been dignified in November, 1613, with the *bâton*, and the title of Marshal d'Ancre. Vain, presumptuous, devoid of ability, Concini had by his insolence incurred the hatred of all, and especially of the lawyers of the Parliament. He had insulted that assembly by keeping on his hat; and he had incurred the rebuke of the venerable President Harlai, in the *Lit de Justice* held after the assassination of Henry IV., by directing in a loud voice the proceedings of the Queen. Alarmed by the denunciations of the Parliament, backed as they were by Condé, Marshal d'Ancre and his wife implored the Queen to postpone her intended journey; but Mary on this occasion, contrary to her usual custom, displayed considerable ill-humour towards her favourite; bade him repair to his government of Picardy, to maintain there the royal authority; and ordered various measures to be adopted against the attempts of Condé and his

confederates. She then took the road to Bordeaux with the King and Court, escorted by a military force under the Dukes of Guise and Epemon. Condé and his confederates set off with some 5,000 or 6,000 men; and the Duke of Rohan, with the same view, took the command of the Huguenot forces in Guienne. But Rohan had been deceived as to their real strength; he was not able to obstruct the Queen's passage; the road to Spain was open, and the double marriage was celebrated by proxy at Bordeaux and Burgos, October 18th. The two princesses were exchanged at Hendaye, on the Bidasoa, November 9th. Guise, at the head of 5,000 men, conducted the new Queen of France to Bordeaux, and on the 25th of November, the union of Louis XIII. and Anne of Austria—strange mixture of the blood of Henry IV. and Philip II.—was solemnized in the cathedral of that city by the Bishop of Saintes. The principal subject of contention being thus at an end, an accommodation was soon afterwards effected with the malcontents, by the treaty of Loudun, May 3rd, 1616. By a supplementary article, one and a half million livres were assigned to Condé for the expenses of the war, and the other Princes received in proportion. The rights and privileges of the Huguenots were confirmed.

Louis mar-
ries Anne
of Austria.

After this peace Richelieu was employed by the Queen-Mother in conducting some negotiations with Condé, whom the Court wished to gain over, and to convert into a mediator with the great nobles. Richelieu had now obtained through the interest of Leonora Galigai, the wife of Marshal d'Ancre, the place of first-almoner to the Queen-regnant, Anne of Austria,¹ an office of no political importance, but which he afterwards sold for a considerable sum. Soon afterwards he was also made a *Conseiller d'Etat*. He discharged his mission to Condé with success, and persuaded that Prince, who was residing in jealous retirement in Berri, to come to Paris. In November, 1616, the Bishop of Luçon was named ambassador-extraordinary to Spain, on the subject of some differences which had arisen between Spain and the Duke of Savoy. His effects were already packed up, when a change having occurred in the French ministry by the dismissal of Du Vair, the Keeper of the Seals, Richelieu was appointed a secretary of state in the place of Mangot, promoted to the seals. He

Richelieu
enters the
ministry.

¹ Aubéry, *Mém. de Richelieu*, t. i. p. 11.

marked his entrance upon office by asserting the pre-eminence of the Church, and demanded a special *brevet*, giving him, though a younger man, precedence over the other members of the council. Villeroi, compelled to cede to him the post of first secretary, retired, though still retaining the emoluments belonging to that dignity.¹ Richelieu obtained his promotion through the favour of Marshal d'Ancre and his wife.² Thus Richelieu began his political career as the devoted servant of the Queen-Mother, and the instrument of her Spanish policy; a course directly opposed to his subsequent views after he had obtained the entire management of the affairs of France.³

Arrest of
Condé.

Richelieu's patron already stood on the brink of a precipice. Several of the great nobles, at the head of whom were Mayenne and Bouillon, had conspired to take Concini's life, and they had induced Condé to join them. The French nobility had much degenerated. The leagues and revolts of the preceding century had, by profession at least, been for great principles, contended for in the open field; they were now miserable intrigues for the sole object of personal aggrandizement. The first princes of the land were ready to sacrifice their principles, and even their ambition, for a sum of money or a government; and now they were leagued together to murder a foreigner whose greatest crime was that he intercepted some of those emoluments and honours which they coveted for themselves. Condé, however, had neither the firmness nor the discretion necessary for a conspirator; he secretly let Concini know that he could protect him no longer, and both the Marshal and his wife set off for Caen. But though Condé spared the favourite, he only pushed with more vigour the plans which he had formed against the Queen and government. His return had been hailed by the Parisians with a loudness of acclamation which had excited the jealousy of the Court. He seemed to partake, and even to eclipse, the authority of the Queen. He was assiduous at the Council, of which, by the treaty of Loudun, he was the head; the finances were abandoned to his

¹ Richelieu's commission, dated Nov. 30th, 1616, expressly provides that his right of *préséance* is not to form a precedent. Aubéry, *Mém.* t. i. p. 15.

² Richelieu, *Mém.* liv. vii.; Capefigue, *Richelieu*, etc. t. ii. p. 275.

³ See Michelet, *Henri IV. et Richelieu*, ch. xxi., who asserts that Richelieu was *Spanish* to the age of forty, and the rest of his life anti-Spanish; also Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. xi. p. 107.

direction ; no ordinance was issued without his signature ; and while the Louvre was deserted, such were the crowds that resorted to his hotel that it was difficult to approach the gates. He treated the Queen-Mother with an insolence which completely alienated her. He attempted to win the populace, to gain over the guilds, as well as the colonels and captains of quarters, and to animate the pulpits against the government ; and as all his conduct seemed to indicate that he aimed at nothing less than seizing the supreme power, and perhaps even the throne itself, Mary, by the advice of her ministers, resolved on arresting him ; which was accordingly effected. Being sent to the Bastille, he betrayed the meanest pusillanimity, and offered to reveal all the plots of his accomplices ; who, on the first notice of the Prince's capture, had fled from Paris. Condé's mother, proceeding on foot to the Pont Notre-Dame, exclaimed that Marshal d'Ancre had murdered her son, and called on the populace to avenge her. The mob gazed with astonishment and pity on so strange a sight ; and Picard, a little, red-haired, grey-eyed shoemaker, the demagogue of Paris, who had had a mortal quarrel with Concini, seized the moment to lead them to the hotels of the marshal and his secretary, Corbinelli, which were plundered and destroyed.¹ Meanwhile the Duke of Nevers was meditating open force, and Mayenne and Bouillon were preparing to join him. Concini trembled in the midst of his enormous wealth, and thought of securing it by retiring to Italy ; but from this project he was diverted by his wife ; and when the confusion and astonishment created by the arrest of Condé had somewhat subsided, he took heart and returned to Paris. After all it was not by the disaffected nobles that he was to be overthrown, but by a domestic revolution in the palace.

Louis XIII., now in his sixteenth year, was beginning to act for himself. As a child he had been sullen and refractory ; as a youth he grew up dissembling, distrustful, and melancholy. His features were handsome, but the expression of his countenance was at once harsh and irresolute ; his eyes and hair were black, his countenance tawny as a Spaniard's, but without the vivacity of the south. He neither loved literature, nor play, nor wine, nor the society of ladies ; art touched him somewhat more, especially music. He had shown some ability

Louis XIII.
and his
favourite.

¹ *Mercure Français*, t. iv. p. 201.

in the mathematical and mechanical sciences, and had early become a good artilleryman and engineer. Although of an unsound constitution, he was not deficient in bodily strength and activity, and hunting and hawking were his favourite diversions. He blew the horn himself; he knew the names of all his hounds; it was his supreme delight to see the pack assemble before him, or to watch his falcons soar into the air and swoop on the scared and fluttering birds which sought refuge in the trees or under the battlements. Observing his passion for fowling, M. de Souvré, his governor, had placed about him a person particularly skilled in that pastime; a gentleman about thirty years of age, the illegitimate son or grandson of a canon of Marseilles and an Italian woman who claimed to belong to the Florentine family of the Alberti. Hence the King's falconer called himself Charles d'Albert, and from a small property on the Rhone, *Sieur de Luynes*. Two younger brothers bore the names of *Brantes* and *Cadenet*, from two lordships of such slender dimensions that a hare, says *Bassompierre*, could leap over them; nor was the nobility of these three Provençal brothers very magnificently supported by a pension of 1,200 crowns which *Henry IV.* had settled on the eldest, who shared it with his brothers.

Quarrel of
Concini and
Richelieu.

Luynes seemed dull and harmless enough, with no ideas beyond his birds; and *Concini* had not only tolerated him, but even procured for him the government of *Amboise*. *Louis*, however, having on the occasion of his marriage employed *Luynes* to compliment his young *Queen Anne* at *Bayonne*, the marshal conceived a jealousy of the falconer; and on the return of the Court to Paris in May, 1616, he took no pains to conceal his enmity. From this time *Luynes* used every endeavour to incite the King both against his mother and the *Concini*; he sought friends on every side; he made an offer to the Spanish ambassador to sell himself for a pension; he entered into correspondence with the malcontent princes, and courted the friendship of *Richelieu*. This minister had not answered the marshal's expectations. In placing the bishop in office, *Concini* had expected to find him a sort of humble clerk, the subservient tool of all his wishes. But *Richelieu* was made of other materials, and was resolved to act for himself.¹ It is probable that the sagacious bishop per-

¹ *Liv. viii.*

ceived Concini to be tottering to his fall; it is certain that a violent quarrel took place between them, and the marshal addressed to Richelieu a letter, displaying all the rage of a madman.¹ The bishop, however, had no concern in Concini's death; the blow came from Luynes alone. That favourite even suspected that Richelieu and his fellow-secretary Barbin, were in a plot against him with Concini; and to avert the apprehended storm, Luynes had proposed to marry one of the marshal's nieces at Florence; but Leonora would not give her consent. This refusal cost her and Concini their lives.² Luynes now redoubled his machinations against the marshal. He represented him as meditating rebellion, and with that view raising an army in Normandy and Flanders; he denounced him as consulting astrologers respecting the King's life. He also poisoned the mind of Louis against his mother, by painting in vivid colours the insupportable dominion she would obtain over him after she had reduced the rebel nobles; nay, he even revived the old Huguenot tales about Catharine de' Medici having killed her children in order to prolong her power; and he pointed out that Mary, like Catharine, was surrounded by Italians, poisoners, and magicians.

Luynes succeeded by his artifices in persuading the King to consent to Marshal d'Ancre's arrest; his assassination, which Luynes had also proposed, Louis would not sanction, except in case he should resist; under the circumstances a mere *salvo* for the King's conscience. The execution of this enterprise Luynes intrusted to the Marquis of Vitry, captain of the guards, a resolute man, and an enemy of the marshal's. Vitry was directed to proceed at night to a certain spot, where he would meet some persons who would communicate to him the wishes of the King. Great was Vitry's surprise to find at the appointed rendezvous, Tronçon and Marsillac, creatures of Luynes, together with Déageant, a fraudulent clerk of the secretary Barbin, and a gardener employed at the Tuileries. But Vitry had gone too far to recede, and was induced by the prospect of a great reward to undertake an act which he must have been conscious would result in murder.

Artful
conduct
of Luynes.

Concini occupied a small hotel at the corner of the Louvre towards the Seine, near the Queen's apartments, to which there was a bridge, called by the people "Le Pont d'Amour."

Murder of
Concini.

¹ Liv. t. ii. p. 290.

² *Ibid.* liv. viii.

On the morning of April 24th, 1617, the marshal, accompanied by some fifty of his friends and servants, was proceeding to his wife's apartments in the palace, to wait as usual for the Queen's rising. He had reached the middle of the drawbridge over the fosse of the Louvre, when Vitry, who was accompanied by some twenty gentlemen, seized him by the arm, exclaiming that he arrested him in the King's name. Concini laid his hand on his sword, but immediately fell, pierced by three pistol bullets. Louis, trembling and anxious, was awaiting the result of the enterprise, when Colonel d'Ornano, in breathless haste, informed him of Concini's death. Then Louis, seizing a sword and carbine, presented himself at a window, exclaiming, "Thank you, my friends; I am now a King!"

Banishment
of the
Queen-
Mother.

One of the first acts of the King was to recall his father's old ministers, except the greatest of them all, the Duke of Sully. Luynes was for the time all powerful, and many changes were made. Richelieu's office was now occupied by Villeroy; and of his two colleagues, Mangot was dismissed and Barbin arrested. Thus ended Richelieu's first ministry, after it had lasted about seven months. On the day of Concini's assassination he had sent a message to the Queen-Mother to assure her of his devotion, and during the next few years he attached himself to her fortunes. The revolt of the princes and nobles was terminated by the death of Marshal d'Ancre, and they were pardoned a rebellion which was ascribed to his tyranny. Condé, however, was not released, but was transferred from the Bastille to Vincennes. Louis XIII. bore a great antipathy to his cousin; it would not have been convenient for a third to share the government with the King and his favourite; and the Prince's former friends troubled not themselves about his fate. Mary de' Medici was banished to Blois.¹

Execution
of La
Galigai.

The Parliament of Paris gave their formal sanction to the murder of Concini, which, indeed, was acceptable to all parties; his possessions were confiscated in favour of Luynes; and a criminal prosecution was instituted against the marshal's wife, La Galigai; the principal charge against her being the wealth which she had accumulated by selling the royal favour. She was condemned to death, and showed unexpected courage when taken to execution.

The first acts of Louis XIII.'s government were sufficiently

¹ *Mercure Français*, t. iv.; Bassompierre, t. ii. p. 150 (Petitot).

popular. France intervened between Spain and Savoy; a French army under Lesdiguières appeared in Piedmont; the Spanish Court, occupied with the affairs of Germany, hastened to renew a peace; a disarmament was agreed on between Milan and Savoy, and the places taken were restored on both sides. Christina of France, the King's second sister, was given in marriage to the Prince of Piedmont. This policy had been chalked out by Richelieu, but Luynes obtained the credit of it. The first care of this favourite was to push his own fortune. He had recently married Mary de Rohan, daughter of the Duke of Montbazou, known by her genius for intrigue. Luynes put the Queen-Mother under military surveillance at Blois, and surrounded her with spies, who reported all her words and actions. It must be confessed that Richelieu seems to have been little better than one of these. He had procured a written leave to accompany the Queen; he would not accept the post of chief of her council till he had obtained permission from Paris; and during the month which he passed with Mary at Blois, he rendered to Luynes from time to time an exact account of her proceedings.¹ But all this circumspection did not save him from suspicion. He received a hint from the King that he would do well to retire to his diocese, and in April, 1618, he was directed to take up his residence at Avignon. The Queen-Mother was treated with the greatest indignity. Blois was surrounded with troops; and she could receive no visitors without express permission. Luynes and the King talked of shutting her up in the Castle of Amboise, or even forcing her into a convent. Mary resolved on making her escape; and by means of the Abbé Rucellaï, an intriguing Italian and a priest of the Oratory, she persuaded the Duke of Epemon to help her in her design. On the night of the 22nd of February, 1619, the Queen descended a rope-ladder from a window of the castle and escaped to Loches, a town of which Epemon was commandant. Here she wrote a letter to the King to justify the step which she had taken, and on the following day she proceeded to Angoulême. The Court was filled with consternation. In their alarm, the King and Luynes lent a ready ear to the counsels of Father Joseph, a Capuchin friar, the devoted friend of the Bishop of Luçon; who advised them that the best way to appease the Queen and

Louis's first
acts.

The Queen
escapes
from Blois.

¹ Richelieu, liv. viii.

prevent her from adopting violent courses, would be to despatch Richelieu to treat with and pacify her. Du Tremblai, Father Joseph's brother, was accordingly sent to Avignon, with the King's autograph letter to Richelieu, intreating him to repair to Angoulême; and he immediately set off for that place. Richelieu exhorted the Queen to moderation; in April an accommodation was effected which placed Mary in a much more favourable position, and in the following August the King met his mother at Tours, when a cordial reconciliation seemed to be established.

Disgrace of
the Duke
of Lerma.

The government of Luynes was as favourable to both branches of the House of Austria, and consequently to political and religious despotism, as that of the Queen-Mother could have been. In Spain, the fall of the Duke of Lerma had astonished all Europe (1618). To defend himself against the jealousy and hatred of the nobles, Lerma had procured from the Pope a Cardinal's hat, which in case of extremity would insure him a retreat at Rome; and as another resource he had surrounded the King with persons whose fortunes depended on his own, such as his son the Duke of Uzeda. But Uzeda repaid his father with the basest ingratitude, and at the head of a party of the nobles began to conspire his ruin. Complaints were made against Lerma's government; the King's confidence in him was alienated, and his friends and partisans were dismissed from Court. Lerma, however, still clung to office till Philip sent him an autograph letter of dismissal. Uzeda succeeded to most of his father's places, and conducted the government during the last years of Philip III.'s reign; to whom he rendered himself agreeable by diverting his melancholy with fêtes, processions, tournaments, and bull-fights.

Venice
preserved.

Luynes courted the favour of the Spanish Court by denouncing to it the plot of the Duke of Osuna, Viceroy of Naples, to seize the Two Sicilies, and thus lost the opportunity of delivering Italy from the Spanish yoke. After the overthrow of the Duke of Lerma's ministry in Spain, Osuna, fearing that he should be recalled by the new government, formed the design of making himself King of Naples and Sicily, and with that view entered into negotiations with the French Court and with the Duke of Savoy. Luynes at first entertained the project, but changed his mind and acquainted the Spanish cabinet with it; Osuna was recalled and arrested,

and languished in prison the remainder of his life. A little before, Osuna, together with Don Pedro de Toledo, Governor of Milan, and the Marquis of Bedmar, had been engaged in a conspiracy to bring Venice into the power of the Spanish Crown; for which purpose Osuna hired, as his principal agent, Jacques Pierre, a celebrated French pirate. In August, 1617, Pierre proceeded to Venice, and pretending to have had a quarrel with Osuna, induced the Venetians, by the vehement hatred which he displayed against the Viceroy, to give him a command in their navy. Another Frenchman, Renault de Nevers, also took an active part in the plot; and in nocturnal interviews with Bedmar, the Spanish ambassador at Venice, they arranged all their proceedings. Osuna was to despatch a fleet from Naples, commanded by one Elliott, an Englishman, while the Governor of Milan was to assemble his forces on the Venetian frontier. But the execution of the plot was delayed by a violent storm, which dispersed the Spanish fleet; and, meanwhile, some of the conspirators, and especially one Jaffier, warned the Signory of their danger. Many persons were in consequence apprehended, and more than fifty quietly put to death.¹

The period was now arrived which was to desolate Germany thirty years by a war carried on in the name of religion. The policy of the French Court assisted the initiation of that tremendous effort of bigotry and despotism. Characters like William the Silent and Henry IV. still formed rare exceptions amidst the general reign of intolerance; nor must the reproach be confined exclusively to the Catholics. We have already adverted to the bigotry displayed by the Saxon Lutherans; it found its counterpart among the Calvinists of Holland; where, stimulated by political rancour, it gave rise to the worst excesses. Among the divines of that country had arisen Arminius (Jacob Harmensen), who had dared to question the doctrine of predestination. A storm of reprobation arose against Arminius, who died in 1609. His tenets had prevailed in the University of Leyden, and had been adopted by most of the higher and educated class, and among

The Armi-
nians and
Gomarists.

¹ The reality of this plot has been questioned by Daru, *Hist. de Venise*, liv. xxxi., but without adequate reason. See Botta, *Storia d'Italia*, lib. xviii.; Ranke, *Ueber die Verschwörung gegen Venedig im Jahre, 1618*. The story has been related and embellished by the Abbé de St. Réal, *La Conjuration contre Venise*.

them by Olden Barneveldt, the illustrious Advocate of Holland, and Hugo Grotius; but by the populace they were viewed with a fanatical abhorrence, fanned and excited by the rigid Calvinist clergy. The latter party, from one of their chief divines named Gomarus, obtained the name of *Gomarists*, while their opponents were called *Arminians*; and subsequently, from a paper which they addressed to the States of Holland in 1610, *Remonstrants*.¹ The storm first broke upon the head of Vorstius, the successor at Leyden to the chair of Arminius, who, at the instigation of our James I., was driven from Holland, but escaped with his life; though the royal theologian had charitably hinted to the States, *that never heretic better deserved the flames*.² Barneveldt was not so fortunate, to whose fate political rancour likewise contributed. For it was not only a theological question, but also a political one, as it involved the point whether the State should govern the Church, or the Church the State. In accordance with the doctrine of Erastianism, or the supremacy of the civil magistrate in matters of religion, the Arminian magistrates of Holland, Overijssel, and Utrecht proceeded to control the excesses of the Gomarists and to make some changes in the mode of nominating the pastors. This excited the anger of the Stadholder, Maurice of Nassau; who had long entertained a secret hatred of Barneveldt for having thwarted him in his ambitious designs to seize the sovereignty. They had continued to be opposed to each other even after the conclusion of the Spanish truce, and especially on the subject of an alteration which Prince Maurice wished to make in the constitution. The government of the United Provinces was vested in the States-General, which consisted of deputies from all the provinces assembled at the Hague, under the presidency of the Stadholder. The number of deputies which each province sent to the States-General was undefined, and indeed immaterial, as every province had only a single vote. The States-General had no power to make laws for the separate provinces, which were governed by their own; but they determined all those questions which concerned the general interests of the confederacy. In this assembly Olden

Quarrel
between
Maurice
and Barne-
veldt.

¹ The "Five Points" of the Remonstrance, drawn up by Uytenbogaert, and the "Seven Points" of the Gomarite Counter-remonstrance, are in Motley's *Life of Barneveldt*, vol. i. ch. viii.

² King James's *Works*, p. 355.

Barneveldt had great influence. By virtue of his office of Advocate of Holland he was a constant member of it; he had a right to propose subjects for deliberation; and, as Holland paid more than half the taxes raised for the Republic, his voice had of course great weight. In order to obtain a more unrestricted power, Maurice had proposed that the States-General should only have a voice respecting peace and war, and that all other affairs should be conducted by a Council of State, of which he himself should be the president; but Barneveldt had frustrated this design. These and other things of the like kind had embittered Maurice against the Advocate, and the religious disputes seemed to offer an opportunity of revenge. Barneveldt was the head of the Remonstrants, Maurice of the Counter-remonstrants, and there was a struggle between the two parties for the possession of the churches. It became evident that the dispute must be decided by force. The Gomarists had proposed a national synod to settle the religious question; but Barneveldt persuaded the States of Holland to reject it, and to authorize the governors of cities to enrol soldiers for the preservation of the peace. In case of complaints arising therefrom, the States of Holland alone were to be appealed to. Prince Maurice and his family were to be requested to support this decision, which obtained the name of the "Sharp Resolve." The dispute was now evidently reduced to the question whether, in the last resort, the authority lay with the States or the Stadholder—a point which the constitution does not appear to have determined.

Maurice had gained several of the provinces, and had also with him the clergy, the army, and the mob; and, in spite of the opposition of the Arminian provinces (Holland, Utrecht, and Overijssel), a synod was summoned at Dort. Before it met, Barneveldt, Grotius, and a few more Arminians, were illegally arrested at the Hague on the sole authority of the Stadholder, and all the Arminian magistrates were arbitrarily deposed (August, 1618). All the reformed Churches in Europe had been invited to send deputies to the synod of Dort, which was attended by English, German, and Swiss ministers. By this assembly the Arminians were condemned without a hearing; 200 of their pastors were deposed and 80 of them banished (May, 1619); but such a victory was not enough for Maurice, who thirsted after Barneveldt's blood. He and Grotius were arraigned before a tribunal composed

Synod of
Dort.

of their personal enemies or the most virulent of the Gomarists. There was no categorical indictment against Barneveldt; no counsel was employed on either side, nor were any witnesses called. One of the most serious charges against him was that he had received bribes from Spain.¹ The civil dissensions in the Netherlands had inspired that Power with the hope of recovering those provinces, but there was not a shadow of proof that he was implicated in the scheme. He was also charged with damaging the Prince's character by declaring that he aspired to the sovereignty. Barneveldt, who had done more than any man, except perhaps William the Silent, to found the liberties of his country, was condemned to death, chiefly on the charge of having intended to betray it. The verdict pronounced against him was, in substance, that he had deserved death for having sought to dissolve the union between the provinces, and because he had vexed the Church of God, by asserting that each province had the right to order its own religious constitution; also because he had hindered the exercise of true religion, raised troops of his own power, hindered the execution of sentences pronounced by courts of justice, and accepted presents from foreign Powers. It was a judicial murder. Maurice, who had the prerogative of mercy, insisted that the venerable statesman and patriot should solicit him for a pardon; but to this Barneveldt would not condescend. He was beheaded May 13th, 1619. Grotius was condemned to perpetual imprisonment; but escaped in 1621 through the devotion of his wife, and took refuge at Paris, where he composed his famous work on international law (*De jure belli et pacis*).

In Germany the persecutors and the persecuted were more evenly matched, and the struggle could not be decided without a long and almost internecine war, in which most of the European Powers became involved. But in order to understand the state of parties in that country, and the causes which immediately led to the Thirty Years' War, it will be necessary to resume from an earlier period a brief view of German history.

It was soon discovered that the Emperor Rodolph intended not to observe the *Majestäts-Brief*, or Royal Charter to the

¹ For the charges, or rather interrogatories, see Motley, *Life of Barneveldt*, vol. ii. p. 366 sq. (cabinet ed.).

Execution
of Barne-
veldt.

Retrospect
of German
history.

Rodolph II.

Bohemians, which had been extorted from him (*supra*, p. 155); and that he was endeavouring to deprive his brother Matthias of the succession to the Crown of Bohemia. Nothing could be more wretched than Rodolph's administration. He was surrounded at Prague by painters, and alchymists; ambassadors or councillors who attempted to consult him on business could not obtain an audience for months; all offices were sold, but the purchasers were soon turned out to make room for other buyers; and the conduct of affairs was left in the hands of a vice-chancellor and a corrupt secretary.¹ After much negotiation between Rodolph and his brother Matthias, matters were at length brought to a crisis between them by the proceedings of the Archduke Leopold, who, after being driven from Alsace (*supra*, p. 168), had marched his troops into his Bishopric of Passau, where they subsisted by plundering all around, and especially by robbing merchants on their way to Linz. Leopold kept these troops together on pretence of the affair of Jülich; but their true destination, as Matthias well knew, was to wrest Austria and Moravia from him, and afterwards Bohemia from the Emperor Rodolph. At last, in December, 1610, the Bishopric of Passau being exhausted, a large body of these mercenaries crossed the Danube into Upper Austria, committing acts of violence, robbery, and devastation. On Matthias preparing to march against them from Vienna, Leopold threw off the mask, and proceeded with his hordes to Prague, where, contrary to the wish of the citizens, they were admitted by Rodolph. During the two or three months that they held possession of Prague, they treated it like a town taken by assault; but on the approach of Matthias and his army, in March, 1611, they deemed it prudent to withdraw to Budweis. Rodolph now became a sort of prisoner of the Bohemian provisional government, consisting, as we have said, of thirty Directors, ten from each estate, to which had been added a council of nine, three from each estate, chosen by the people as their representatives. Count Thurn, one of the leaders of the patriot party, took possession of the castle with his forces, telling the Emperor that he had come to guard him. Rodolph sent a humble message to his brother, offering him lodgings in the castle; to which

¹ See Hurter, *Ph. Lang, Kammerdiener Kaiser Rodolphs II.*; Von Hammer, *Leben des Card. Klesel*, B. ii.

Matthias, or rather his minister, Cardinal Klesel, replied, that he had been invited to Prague by the States, but that he would always behave like a faithful brother. Matthias entered that capital in great pomp, March 24th. The reign of Rodolph in Bohemia was now, of course, at an end. The States assembled on the 11th of April, and demanded of Rodolph to be released from their allegiance; but they also required from Matthias that on receiving the Crown he should confirm all their rights and liberties. Rodolph resigned with reluctance a power which he had not known how to use, and, from a window that looked out upon the town, uttered a solemn curse on Prague and all Bohemia. Matthias took possession of the Hradschin, and on the 23rd of May received the crown and the homage of the Bohemians; recognizing, however, their right to elect their Kings, and engaging to observe the charter granted by Rodolph. Matthias remained in Prague till near the end of August without having once seen his brother; and on his return to Vienna he married his cousin Anne, daughter of the Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol. He was now fifty-five years of age.

Matthias
King of
Bohemia.

Rodolph, whose derangement had rendered his deposition necessary, did not long survive these transactions; he died January 20th, 1612, and, in the following June, Matthias was elected Emperor in his place. The Protestant cause gained little by the change. Matthias was almost as incompetent as his brother; and, if Rodolph was governed by Spaniards and Jesuits, Matthias was led by Klesel and other fanatical opponents of toleration. The beginning of his reign was marked by fresh religious disturbances in Bohemia, Austria, and Hungary; while the matter of Jülich still afforded the most dangerous materials for dissension. The Elector of Brandenburg, on the death, in 1613, of his brother, the Margrave Ernest of Brandenburg, who governed Jülich for both the "Princes in possession," placed the government of it in the hands of his own son, George William. This arrangement was by no means satisfactory to the Palsgrave of Neuburg and his son, Wolfgang; and the latter now took a step unexpected even by his father. The Palsgrave had consented to the marriage of his son, whom he deemed to be still a Protestant, with Magdalen, a younger sister of Duke Maximilian of Bavaria; but Wolfgang, as the Pope knew, had already secretly gone over to the Roman Catholic faith; and

Matthias
Emperor.

he therefore readily granted a dispensation for the marriage, which was necessary, not only on account of kinship, but also of the presumed heresy of the bridegroom. The marriage was celebrated at Munich in November, 1613, and, of course, created an open enmity between the Neuburg and Brandenburg families. In the spring of 1614, Wolfgang occupied Düsseldorf, drove out the officers of the Brandenburg government, and seized as many other places as he could; then, after a well-acted comedy of conversion, he publicly embraced the Roman Catholic faith. About the same time, John Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg, also changed his religion, and from a zealous Lutheran became a Calvinist. Previously to these events, Frederick V., the young Elector Palatine, had been betrothed to Elizabeth, daughter of our James I., and, in 1612, the wedding was celebrated with great pomp and magnificence in London. In honour of the nuptials, Jonson and Davenant wrote masques, which were set to music by Lawes; while Inigo Jones, assisted by the most eminent painters, contrived the scenery.¹ Frederick's guardian, John II., Duke of Zweibrücken, had made an alliance with England in the name of the German Protestant Union, of which he was director; and also, in the same capacity, negotiated a treaty with the Dutch Republic for a term of fifteen years, which was signed at the Hague in May, 1613.

Of the two great parties into which at this time we find Germany divided, namely, that of the Protestant Union and that of the Catholic League, the former, consisting of Calvinistic Princes and States, was incontestably the more powerful, and formed a kind of state within the state. Besides the English and Dutch alliances, it counted on the support of Venice and the Swiss reformed Cantons; and a meeting of its members at Rothenburg, in 1611, had not only been attended by ambassadors from these countries, and from Holland, but also by envoys from the Emperor Rodolph, as well as from the malcontent members of his family. On the other hand, the power of the Catholic League was paralyzed at that period by the quarrels of the Imperial house, and by the dissensions between Maximilian of Bavaria and the Arch-

State of
parties.

¹ James I. appears to have expended on these nuptials £146,572, a sum that would have gone some way to maintain his unfortunate son-in-law on the Bohemian throne. Harte, *Gust. Adolphus*, vol. i. p. 239.

bishop of Salzburg, as well as by a sort of schism of the spiritual Electors, who established a Rhenish section of the League, of which they made the Elector of Mainz director. Maximilian of Bavaria, indeed, had been on the point of abandoning the League altogether, when, in 1613, the dissensions in Jülich already mentioned, an insurrection of the Protestants in Austria, and a correspondence between Matthias's minister Klesel and the Elector of Mainz, induced him to revive it. Maximilian regarded the government of Matthias, as conducted by Klesel, with no favourable eye; and he was particularly embittered against that Cardinal for having hindered him from applying the funds of the League to his own use. Klesel was equally detested by Ferdinand and Leopold of Styria; and, indeed, his government had conciliated neither Protestants nor Catholics. The German Lutheran Princes and States seemed to stand aloof from both parties; but the Elector of Saxony, now John George, was, in fact, sold to Austria and the Jesuits, and hoped to be invested by the Emperor with Jülich; while the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt also courted Matthias, in the hope of plundering the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel.

The
Spaniards
called into
Germany.

Some religious disturbances at Aix-la-Chapelle, and a quarrel between Cologne and the Protestant town of Mühlheim, afforded Wolfgang of Neuburg a pretence to solicit the Emperor to call the Spaniards into Germany. Matthias, in spite of the protest of the Elector of Brandenburg, had caused these disputes to be settled in a partial manner by his Aulic Council, and he intrusted his brother the Archduke Albert, in the Netherlands, with the execution of the decree. Albert obtained the permission of the Court of Spain to use the Spanish troops in this affair; and in 1614 he despatched Spinola with them to Aix-la-Chapelle and Mühlheim. After taking Aix-la-Chapelle and expelling the Protestant Council, Spinola proceeded to Mühlheim. On his march he was joined by Wolfgang of Neuburg with 5,000 foot and 800 horse; Mühlheim made no defence, and Spinola, after destroying its fortifications, laid siege to Wesel, which he took in three days; but, as this was a regular attack on the allies of the Dutch Republic, Prince Maurice, who was in the neighbourhood with a small army, immediately occupied, in the name of the House of Brandenburg, Rees, Emmerich, Kranenburg, and Gennepe. Thus a German territory, disputed by German Princes, was

occupied by the Spaniards for one party and by the Dutch for the other; the Electoral Prince of Brandenburg resided at Cleves, and the Palsgrave of Neuburg at Düsseldorf, while the members of the German Union contented themselves with producing long papers and speeches. In a conference held at Xanten, a treaty was made by which the territories in dispute were divided between the contending parties, but the execution of it was prohibited by the Spanish Court.

Meanwhile, the Emperor Matthias, whose government occasioned great discontent, was growing daily weaker both in body and mind. Neither he nor his brothers had any legitimate offspring; and the Archduke Ferdinand of Styria was straining every nerve to obtain the succession both to the hereditary dominions of the House of Austria and to the Empire. The Archdukes Maximilian of Tyrol and Albert of Belgium, as well as Philip III. of Spain, supported Ferdinand's claim; for though Philip believed his own pretensions to be preferable to those of the Styrian line, he waived them in favour of Ferdinand, seeing that the state of Germany required the hand of a strong and able ruler. In 1616, Maximilian and Albert tendered to Matthias the resignation of their claims in favour of their cousin Ferdinand; and though Cardinal Klesel did all he could to oppose the nomination of that Prince, Matthias found it necessary to comply with the wishes of his brothers. In June, 1617, Ferdinand received the Crown of Bohemia with the consent of the States, and in the following year (July 1st) he was acknowledged in Hungary as the successor of Matthias.

Ferdinand
of Styria
becomes
King of
Bohemia.

Ferdinand had made a favourable impression on the Bohemians; but the clergy and nobles of his party soon effaced it by their persecuting and intolerant conduct. The Bohemians were not long in showing their discontent. The Emperor-King Matthias, having in 1617 proceeded to Vienna, left at Prague a regency consisting of seven Catholics and three Utraquists. Among the Catholics were William Slawata and Martinitz, two men notorious for their fanaticism. A dispute having arisen respecting the building of some Protestant churches, the Utraquists pleaded the sanction of Rodolph's Charter for what they had done, and addressed a warm remonstrance to Matthias; to which he replied by an angry rescript, denouncing the leaders in the matter as insurgents, and threatening to punish them as such. The Protestant

Bohemian
revolution.

malcontents, excited by this step, found a leader in the fiery Count Henry of Thurn, who had just received a mortal offence by being deposed from the dignity of Burg-graf of Karlstein, to which was attached the custody of the Bohemian crown and of the charters of the Kingdom. When the imperial rescript arrived in Prague, the four members of the regency then present in that capital, namely, Slawata, Martinitz, Adam von Sternberg, and Diepold von Lobkowitz, caused those members of the States who had signed the remonstrance to be summoned before them, and communicated to them the Emperor's answer; when the Remonstrants observed that they would come again in a month with a reply. Accordingly on the 23rd of May, 1618, they appeared at the head of a large body of men, among whom were some of the first nobles of the land, all completely armed; and they marched straight to the Royal Castle where the regents were waiting to receive them. After surrounding the Castle with their followers, so that nobody could escape, they consulted in the Green Chamber as to what they should do; when Count Thurn, in an animated address, persuaded them that so long as Slawata and Martinitz lived they could hope for nothing but persecution. His speech was received with loud applause, and he and his companions then proceeded to the Council Hall, where Sternberg addressed them with friendly words, and entreated them to lay aside their demonstrations. "We have nothing to allege against you and Lobkowitz," exclaimed Kolon von Felz; "we complain only of Slawata and Martinitz."—"Out at window with them, after the good old Bohemian fashion," cried Wenzel von Raupowa. No sooner said than done. Sternberg and Lobkowitz were conducted out of the hall, and five nobles, seizing Martinitz, hurled him from one of the windows; after which they seemed to stand aghast at their own deed. "Here you have the other," cried Thurn, pushing to them Slawata; and he followed his companion. Then came the turn of Fabricius, the secretary of the regency. The window was about seventy feet above the ground, yet all three men were almost miraculously saved by falling on a large heap of rubbish which stood directly under it. Fabricius immediately hastened off to Vienna, to carry the news to the Emperor. Martinitz and Slawata were carried off by their servants to the house of the Chancellor Lobkowitz, whither they were pursued by Thurn and his people; but the

beautiful Polyxena Lobkowitz interceded for them and saved their lives. Martinitz afterwards escaped in disguise to Munich. Under the conduct of Thurn a regular revolt was now organized in Bohemia; a government was appointed consisting of thirty Directors, and steps were taken to form a union with the Protestants of Austria and Hungary. This revolt proved the test of Cardinal Klesel, whose temporizing conduct being suspected, he was seized and carried off to the castle of Ambras near Innsbruck, belonging to his enemy the Archduke Maximilian; and it was not till 1627, that, through the intercession of the Pope, he was permitted to return to his diocese.

In Bohemia Proper only three Catholic towns—Pilsen, Budweis, and Krummau—had remained faithful to the Emperor; but the annexed province of Moravia refused to join the rebellion, and offered its mediation, which the insurgents declined, and pressed forward with a considerable army towards the Austrian frontier. The Silesians had also refused to declare against the Emperor, but they sent 3,000 men to maintain “the cause of religion.” By means of Spanish gold, the Emperor Matthias, or rather King Ferdinand, contrived to raise two armies of mercenaries, one of which was under the command of Count Bucquoi, a Walloon general of note, while the other was intrusted to Henry Duval, Count of Dampierre. Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, expecting to profit by the misfortunes of Ferdinand and Matthias, evaded their pressing applications for help. The Bohemians, on their side, applied for aid to the young Elector Palatine, Frederick V., as Director of the Union, but it was not till October that Count Ernest of Mansfeld was despatched to them with 1,000 horse, raised with the money of the Duke of Savoy. Bucquoi and Dampierre had already entered Bohemia in August; but Dampierre was defeated at Czaslau and Bucquoi at Budweis, by Count Thurn. In November Mansfeld laid the foundation of his military fame by capturing, after an obstinate resistance, Pilsen, the most important town in the Kingdom, after Prague. The Bohemians, under Count Schlick, hung upon the retreating army of Bucquoi, carried off his cattle, his booty, and his military chest, and, pressing over the Austrian border, seized the town of Swietla. Matthias now stood in a critical position. The attitude even of the Austrian States was threatening; they had refused to raise troops for the

Death of
Matthias.

Emperor's defence, nor would they allow ammunition or provisions required for his service to pass through their territories. In vain, during the winter, King Sigismund III. of Poland by threats, and the Saxon Elector John George I. by persuasions, had endeavoured to make the Bohemians lay down their arms. But in the midst of this state of things the Emperor Matthias suddenly died, March 20th, 1619, and Ferdinand succeeded to his dominions.

Education
of Wallen-
stein.

At the time of Ferdinand's accession Budweis was the only town held by the Austrian party in Bohemia. The new Sovereign attempted to conciliate his subjects in that Kingdom. He proposed a truce, and offered to confirm all their rights, privileges, and liberties; but the Bohemians could not trust a Prince led by the Jesuits, which Society they had driven from the country in the preceding June, and the insurgents did not even deign to answer his letter.¹ At first the campaign seemed to go in favour of Ferdinand. Count Thurn had proceeded into Moravia with the main body of his army, with the intention of revolutionizing that marquisate, and afterwards Austria; and he occupied the towns of Znaim, Brünn, Iglau, and Olmütz; but while he was thus engaged Bucquoi broke out of Budweis, and took town after town. It was at this time that Albert of Wallenstein, afterwards the renowned and dreaded leader of the Thirty Years' War, attracted the notice and favour of Ferdinand II. by the bravery with which, at the head of only a single regiment, he opposed the Bohemians. Born in 1583, of a family belonging to the Bohemian gentry and of the Utraquist faith, but of German extraction, Waldstein, or Wallenstein,² having been left an orphan at the early age of ten, was sent by a Roman Catholic uncle to Olmütz, to be educated by the Jesuits, by whom he was, of course, converted. He afterwards studied at Padua, then, next to Bologna, the most renowned University of Europe, where he acquired a good knowledge of Italian, at that period the fashionable language. On a journey which he made through the principal countries of Western Europe, including England, in company with a young friend, and under the superintendence of Peter Verdungus, a celebrated astrologer and mathematician, Wallenstein imbibed from the

¹ *Theatrum Europæum*, Th. i. S. 180.

² Waldstein is the true family name, and still continues to be borne by the members of it in Bohemia. For his life see Förster and Hurter.

latter that fondness for astrology which marked his future life. It was still further increased by the lessons which he received at Padua from Argoli, the Professor of Astrology, who also initiated him in the mysteries of the Cabbala. Wallenstein had already served the Emperor Rodolph in Hungary, and the Archduke Ferdinand in a war with Venice, in which he distinguished himself. Meanwhile he had acquired a large fortune by marrying an old Bohemian widow, with whom his wedded life was a short one; and afterwards he ingratiated himself still further with the future Emperor Ferdinand by marrying the daughter of his favourite Count Harrach.

After obtaining possession of Moravia, Thurn marched into Austria, and on the 5th of June, 1619, he appeared in one of the suburbs of Vienna, in which city both the Catholic and Protestant States of the Duchy were assembled round the Emperor. But instead of pushing his way into the city, Thurn suffered himself to be amused for six days with parleys. In this crisis Ferdinand II. displayed considerable energy and determination, and when pressed to save himself and his children by flight he refused to quit his capital.¹ At the expiration of six days, as a deputy named Thonradel was pressing Ferdinand with threats to sign a confederation of Austria with the Bohemians, St. Hilaire, who had been despatched by Dampierre with 500 horse, entered Vienna by the Water-Gate, which Thurn had not been able to secure. At the sound of their trumpet the deputies hurried from the palace, and Ferdinand immediately issued directions for vigorous measures. Thurn remained some days longer before Vienna, and bombarded it, till he was recalled by a message from the Directors at Prague, to the effect that Bucquoi, having defeated Count Mansfeld at Budweis, June 10th, and afterwards formed a junction with Dampierre, was now threatening the capital of Bohemia.

Vienna
threatened
by the
Bohemians.

When this danger was over, Ferdinand hastened to Frankfurt to prepare for his election as Emperor, which was hurried on, in order to put an end to the vicariate of the Elector of

Ferdinand
of Styria
is elected
Emperor.

¹ The Emperor's Jesuit confessor Lamormain, in his treatise *De virtutibus Ferdinandi II.*, says that Ferdinand in his distress threw himself before a crucifix, which uttered the words, "Ferdinande, non te deseram." The miraculous image was afterwards preserved in the Imperial treasury. Menzel, B. iii. S. 340.

Saxony and of the Elector Palatine, the latter of whom was desirous of excluding the House of Austria from the Imperial throne. The Palatine had turned his eyes on the Duke of Bavaria; but Maximilian was not dazzled with the prospect of the Empire, nor inclined to contest it with his old friend Ferdinand. All the Electors voted for Ferdinand, and even the Palatine ultimately joined the majority. As the Electors were leaving the *Römer*, or Town Hall, of Frankfurt, tidings that the insurgent Bohemians had chosen the Elector Palatine for their King occasioned a great sensation. The Emperor Ferdinand II. received the Germanic crown, with the usual ceremonies, on September 9th.

Thirty Years War
195 365

CHAPTER XXXI

BEGINNING OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.—SCANDINAVIAN HISTORY

THE acceptance or rejection of the Bohemian crown was a question of the most vital importance, not only to the Elector Palatine himself, the youthful Frederick V., but also to the whole of Germany. In this perplexity, Frederick summoned a meeting of the Princes of the Union at Rothenburg on the Tauber, and submitted the matter to their consideration. The opinions of the assembly appeared to be equally divided. The Margraves of Baden and Anspach, and Prince Christian of Anhalt, advised Frederick to accept the proffered crown; while the Landgrave of Hesse, the Margrave of Culmbach, and the Duke of Würtemberg, dissuaded him from it. Frederick now hastened back to Heidelberg and took anxious counsel with his friends. Not only were the divided opinions of the Union itself calculated to stagger him in his course, but he had also received a written warning from the whole Electoral College not to engage in so rash an undertaking. Frederick had also privately consulted Maximilian of Bavaria, who, in a friendly letter, remarkable for its good sense, strongly dissuaded him from his ambitious views; and even hinted that he could not stand quietly by and see Bohemia wrested from the House of Austria. On the other hand Frederick was encouraged to persevere by Christian of Anhalt, who had been a kind of tutor to him, and to whose advice he attributed great weight; as well as by his minister Camerarius, and his wife Elizabeth of England.¹ The latter especially, whose ambitious temper, combined with considerable talent, has procured for her the reputation of

Frederick
Count
Palatine
and the
Bohemian
crown.

¹ His court-chaplain, Scultetus, has also been charged with persuading Frederick to accept the crown; but he denies it in his Autobiography.

a princess of spirit, vehemently incited him to the enterprise; and is said to have asked him why, as he had had courage enough to woo a King's daughter, he had none to stretch out his hand and seize a sceptre which seemed offered to him by Heaven?¹ From his father-in-law, James I., however, he could expect but little help; for though that Sovereign would gladly have seen his daughter a Queen, his pacific policy forbade him to appeal to arms for such an object; and he gave no decided opinion on the matter.² But from two other foreign princes, Maurice of Nassau, the hereditary enemy of the House of Austria, and Bethlem Gabor,³ the Protestant Voyvode of Transylvania, Frederick received assurances of support. Thus, by his own ambition, and the injudicious advice of his friends, he was lured to his destruction. Towards the end of October, 1619, he proceeded to Prague, and on the 4th of November he solemnly received the Bohemian crown.

Frederick
becomes
King of
Bohemia.

Bethlem
Gabor.

Circumstances seemed at first to favour the ambitious enterprise of Frederick. Bethlem Gabor, who was in alliance with Count Thurn, had, during Ferdinand's journey to Frankfurt, declared war against his representative, Leopold; had occupied in a very short time Upper Hungary, where the malcontents flocked to his standard in great numbers, and had thence pressed on, burning and plundering, into Lower Austria, so that Leopold even found himself hampered at Vienna, and was forced to recall Bucquoi from Bohemia (October, 1619). Gabor had betrayed the native treachery of his character in the way in which he had obtained possession of his dominions. Stephen Bocskai had died without heirs in December, 1606. This able politician, by the peace of Sitvatorok, had been established as Voyvode of Transylvania, and on his death that dignity, after a short enjoyment of it

¹ Puffendorf, *De Rebus Suecicis*, lib. i. § 27.

² Afterwards, however, James expressed his disapprobation of the course taken by Frederick, and instructed his ambassador not to give him the title of King. In a letter to the Chancellor of the Palatinate Camerarius writes: "Niemand schadet *nostræ causæ* mehr dann König in gross Brittannien, *sua cunctatione et tricis philosophicis*."—Londorp. Th. i. S. 987.

³ The Transylvanians having a custom of subjoining the Christian name to the surname, instead of prefixing it, the proper appellation of this prince according to European custom would be Gabriel Bethlem. Harte, *Gust. Adolphus*, vol. i. p. 213, note.

by Sigismund Rakoczy, came to Gabriel Bathory, who was elected by the Transylvanian States, though not without some contentions between the Emperor and the Porte. But Gabriel Bathory acted so tyrannically, that, at length, even the Protestants of Transylvania rose against him and appealed to the Porte. Unluckily for himself, Bathory employed Bethlem Gabor to mediate for him with the Pasha of Temesvar. Gabor made the Pasha large presents, and still larger promises; and through his influence the Grand-Signor ultimately invested Gabor with Transylvania, October, 1613; and a few days after Bathory was murdered by some of his own officers.

Although these proceedings were viewed with displeasure at Vienna, neither the Emperor nor the Hungarians were inclined to go to war with the Turks. Gabor was recognized; the Porte sent a splendid embassy to Vienna, and in July, 1615, a new peace was concluded there for twenty years on the basis of that of Sitvatorok. Gabor, with the aid of the Turks, now sought to wrest from Ferdinand the Crown of Hungary, though he had declined that of Bohemia. The news of his proceedings in conjunction with Count Thurn reached Ferdinand II. at Munich, where on his return from Frankfurt he was staying with Duke Maximilian; and he immediately applied to that Prince for the help of the League, which was readily accorded on the conditions set forth in the treaty of Munich. Of these conditions it is necessary to our purpose to mention only two. By the third article of the treaty, the Emperor and the House of Austria engaged all their possessions to indemnify the Duke against any loss of territory that he might sustain in the war, as well as all expenses in excess of his ordinary contributions to the League; while, by the fifth article, any portion of the Austrian territories that Maximilian might succeed in wresting from the enemy was to remain in his possession till he should have been remunerated for all the damages and extraordinary expenses which he might have incurred.

The fortunes of the Austrian House seemed desperate when Count Thurn, who had followed the retreat of Bucquoi, now stood, for a second time in the same year, before Vienna, united with Gabor, and at the head of an army of 80,000 men. Bucquoi had broken down the bridge over the Danube, and thrown himself into Vienna, where also the Emperor had arrived, but without any troops. The capture of that capital

Treaty
between
Ferdinand
and Maxi-
milian.

Count
Thurn and
Bethlem
Gabor
before
Vienna.

might at once have decided the war; but circumstances prevented the Allies from maintaining the siege. Neither Thurn nor Gabor had money to pay their troops; the want of provisions was such that 2,000 Bohemians are said to have died of hunger,¹ and news was brought to Gabor that in his absence his general, Ragotski, had been defeated in Transylvania by the Imperialists (December).

Meanwhile the Palatine Frederick was playing the King at Prague. He did nothing but amuse himself with skating-parties and other entertainments throughout the winter; and, as it was the only one which he passed in Bohemia, he obtained the name of the "Winter King." Neither did his manners, nor those of his wife,² recommend him to his new subjects; but all these matters would have been of little importance had he possessed the energy and talent requisite for the station to which he had so ambitiously aspired. Especially he betrayed a want of dignity and self-assertion to which the Bohemians had not been accustomed in their Sovereigns. Early in December he had convened the members of the Union at Nuremberg, at which assembly Count Hohenzollern presented himself as ambassador from the Emperor, and was admitted without question. The Union, however, did nothing but send ambassadors to Munich to treat and parley with Maximilian; although these men must have seen the warlike preparations making in Bavaria, and that Spain and the Jesuits were zealously supporting the League. On the other hand the members of the League, who met at Würzburg in December, voted an army of 25,000 men, and invested Maximilian with the control of all their funds. Neither could Frederick look for help from abroad. His father-in-law would do nothing; Prince Maurice was too much engaged with the affairs of Holland to attend to those of Bohemia; and in January, 1620, Bethlem Gabor had concluded a truce with the Emperor till the 20th of September, in order to negotiate a peace;³ an interval which enabled Ferdinand to seat himself firmly on the Imperial throne.

¹ Khevenhiller, Th. ix. S. 696.

² Elizabeth is said to have offended the Bohemians by her British pride, and to have shocked their prejudices by her low dresses. *Letter of Camerarius*, in Londorp, Th. i. S. 861.

³ It appears from some intercepted letters that this treacherous and inconstant Prince was from the beginning prepared to betray Frederick. Harte, *Gust. Adolph.* vol. i. p. 244.

It was fortunate for the Emperor that France was at this time governed by the counsels of Luynes, who had been gained by the promise of a rich heiress of the House of Péquigny, a ward of the Belgian Archduke's, for his brother Cadenet. Hence Louis XIII., although pressed by Venice, the United Provinces, and Savoy to resume the plans of Henry IV., would attempt nothing against the House of Austria at this critical juncture; on the contrary, in reply to an Imperial embassy which arrived in France towards the close of 1619, French ambassadors were despatched into Germany, who, in the spring of 1620, did all they could to help the Catholic League. France was, indeed, at this time occupied by a domestic rebellion. Luynes, in order to satisfy his grasping ambition, had conciliated Condé, Guise, and Lesdiguières, but set the rest of the nobles at defiance, and refused to pay their pensions. The consequence was a revolt, headed by Mayenne, Longueville, Vendôme, and his brother the Grand-Prior, the Count of Soissons, the Dukes of Nevers and Retz; while other nobles joined the Queen-Mother at Angers. But the rebellion was quenched by the vigorous measures of the Court before it could grow to a head; the troops of the Queen were defeated at Pont-de-Cé (August, 1620); yet she obtained from the King the same terms as in the preceding year; a reconciliation was even effected between the two courts, and Richelieu married his niece, Mademoiselle du Pont-Courlay, to Combalet, a nephew of Luynes. The most remarkable result of this rebellion was the annexation of Béarn to the Crown of France. The Huguenots of that viscounty, headed by La Force, the Governor, had long defied the King and the Pope; but Louis XIII., now finding himself at the head of a considerable body of troops, marched to Pau, and compelled the newly-created Parliament of that place to register an edict uniting Béarn and Lower Navarre to France.

France
favours the
Emperor.

Frederick V. seemed bent on alienating the hearts of his new subjects. Calvinism had but few followers in Bohemia; neither the Utraquists, nor the Lutherans, could endure churches with naked walls, and without an altar and its adjuncts; yet Scultetus, the Court divine, ordered the crucifixes and other ornaments to be cleared out from the cathedral; and he published a book against the Bohemian mode of worship, which of course occasioned endless bitter replies and

Unpopu-
larity of the
Bohemian
King.

controversies. At the same time Frederick offended his two best generals, Count Thurn and Ernest of Mansfeld, by placing them under Christian of Anhalt and Count Hohenlohe, who possessed no military talent. Meanwhile Maximilian of Bavaria, who was the soul of the Catholic party, induced the Pope to contribute some considerable subsidies; he secured the neutrality of the Saxon Elector and the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt; and he advised the Emperor to publish some threatening warnings before the breaking out of the war. Hence the Landgrave Maurice of Hesse-Cassel was the only Prince of any importance who ventured openly to embrace Frederick's cause. The new Elector, George William of Brandenburg, had indeed acknowledged Frederick as King of Bohemia, but from the disturbed state of his own dominions, he declined to take any active part in his affairs. The only other princely house, besides Anhalt, that adhered to Frederick was that of Weimar, great-grandsons of the unfortunate Elector John Frederick. By the advice of the President Jeannin, the Duke of Angoulême, the French ambassador in Germany, brought about such a treaty at Ulm, where the Union was assembled, between that body and the League, as neither the Emperor nor Maximilian could have expected (July 3rd). A mutual peace was established, but the conditions were so framed as to leave the League free to act with regard to Bohemia and Austria. Both sides were to allow the passage of troops into Bohemia, and the Union consented, on the proposition of Bavaria, to omit the Archdukes Albert and Isabella Clara Eugenia from the treaty; though they were members of the Empire, as Sovereigns of the Circle of Burgundy; and though the evangelical Princes must have perceived the drift of this proceeding to be that Spinola might enter the Palatinate, and that the whole weight of the war might fall on the King of Bohemia.¹ As, in addition to all this, the Elector of Saxony declared for the Emperor, promised to occupy Lusatia and to defend Silesia, and as Sigismund III. of Poland sent 8,000 Cossacks² to the aid of

Treaty of
Ulm.

¹ The treaty is in Londorp, *Acta Publica*, Th. ii. S. 48.

² The name of *Kosack* or *Cossack* is of Turkish origin, and signifies *robber*. It was at that time applied to bands of freebooters in Poland, who were quite distinct from the Cossacks of the Don, to whom the ominous appellation has since been transferred. Engel, *Gesch. der Ukraine und der Kosaken*, §§ 53, 56, 116, in the Hallische, *Allg. Weltgesch.*

Ferdinand, the contest was already virtually decided before the army of the League appeared in Bohemia.

Preparatory to the Bohemian war, the Emperor, before the end of 1619, endeavoured to conciliate his Protestant subjects in Austria, and, with the consent of the Pope,¹ he offered entire religious freedom to the States of Lower Austria, on condition that they should renounce their alliance with the Bohemian rebels; and though they at first hesitated they were soon reduced to obedience. Immediately after the treaty of Ulm, Maximilian, with the greater part of the army of the League, had occupied Upper Austria, which was made over to him as security for his expenses. Towards the end of August he began his march towards Bohemia; and being joined by Bucquoi and his forces, the united army amounted to 32,000 men, to whom Frederick could oppose little more than 20,000. In Maximilian's army² Tilly held the second command; a name only inferior to that of Wallenstein in the annals of the THIRTY YEARS' WAR. John Tzerklaes, Count Tilly, whose uncouth name is said to be a compound of Herr Klass, or Nicholas, was a native of Brabant; but having been bred at the Court of the Infanta at Brussels he affected something of the Spaniard. This ferocious soldier was remarkable for his morality and religion. If business broke in upon his usual hours of prayer, the lost time was made up at night; and he had the reputation of inviolate sobriety and chastity.³ He was a little man, and Marshal Gramont, who once saw him at the head of his army on the march, describes him as mounted on a white Croatian pony, and dressed in a green satin doublet with slashed sleeves, and trousers of the same material. On his head he had a little cocked hat, with a drooping plume of red ostrich feathers that reached down to his loins; round his waist a belt two inches broad, from which hung his sword, and a single pistol in his holsters;

¹ Khevenhiller, Th. ix. p. 1175.

² René Descartes, the celebrated metaphysician, was in the Bavarian army as a volunteer. For the Thirty Years' War may be consulted: Westenrieder's *Gesch. des dreissigjährigen Krieges*; Barthold's *Geschichte des grossen deutschen Krieges* (for the latter half of it, after the death of Gustavus Adolphus); Gindely, *Gesch. des 30^{en}. Kriegs* and *Rudolph II. u. seine Zeit*; Hurter, *Gesch. Kaiser Ferdinands II.* Schiller's work on the same subject will be read rather for its style than its facts.

³ Zschokke, *Baierische Gesch.* B. iii. S. 221.

which, as he informed Gramont, he had never fired, though he had gained seven decisive battles.¹

The most disgraceful part of these transactions for the German Princes was, that they stood by and saw their country spoiled by the Spaniards; for Count Khevenhiller, Ferdinand's ambassador at Madrid, prevailed upon Philip III. to lend him the help of Spinola and the Spanish troops in the Netherlands before the twelve years' truce with the Dutch should have expired. Had not the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt promised to stand by the Emperor, Spinola would never have ventured so far from his base of operations, as to enter, as he did in the autumn of 1620, the Lower Palatinate with 20,000 Spanish and Netherland troops, while the army of the Union retreated before him, first from Oppenheim and then from Worms. Early in November the Spaniards ravaged all the fertile districts between the Rhine, the Moselle, and the Nahe, and pressed on into the Wetterau. The Dutch, observed by another Spanish army under Velasco, faithfully kept their truce with Spain, which did not expire till April, 1621, and thus allowed time enough for the overthrow of Frederick, the warmest supporter of the synod of Dort. At the same time the Elector of Saxony entered Lusatia with his army, thus depriving the Bohemian King of all hopes of relief from that marquisate and from Silesia. James I. did nothing for his son-in-law except allow Colonel Grey to raise some 3,000 men, who were disembarked in the Elbe in May, 1620; but they were inhospitably received, especially at Berlin, and, being attacked with sickness, few succeeded in reaching Bohemia. Thus Frederick's expectations were deceived on all sides. His fall, which could not perhaps have been averted, was hastened by his own misconduct. The troops of the Emperor and the League were in a terrible state of destitution and sickness; and the Bavarian army alone lost 20,000 men. Although the Bohemian army was in as bad a condition, it is possible that Frederick, by remaining within the walls of Prague, might have worn out his enemies; but he was advised to offer them battle on the White Hill, near that capital. His army, commanded by Christian of Anhalt and Count Hohenlohe—for Count Mansfeld, his best general,

Spinola
wastes the
Palatinate.

The battle
of White
Hill.

¹ *Mém. de Gramont*, t. i. p. 12 sq. (ed. 1717).

disgusted at being postponed to those commanders, kept aloof at Pilsen—was routed and almost annihilated in a single hour (November 8th, 1620). In the forenoon of that eventful Sunday, Frederick had heard a sermon by Scultetus, and had sate down to dinner with his Queen, when news of the attack was brought. He mounted his horse with the intention of proceeding to the field; but from the ramparts he beheld that his army was already routed; horses were running about without their riders, and officers and soldiers were clambering up the fortifications in order to enter the city. At a council at which Digby the English ambassador assisted, it was resolved that the King and Queen should fly, for neither the troops nor the townspeople could be trusted. But whither? In grasping at the shadow Frederick had lost the substance. The Lower Palatinate, with the exception of Lautern, Mannheim, Heidelberg, and Frankenthal, was already in possession of Spinola and his Spaniards. Frederick, therefore, took the road to Breslau with his family, and with such haste and confusion that he lost his Order of the Garter. On the same day the Imperialists entered Prague, and shortly afterwards the Bohemians swore allegiance afresh to Ferdinand II.¹

Frederick
flies from
Prague.

Frederick was received with respect at Breslau; the States of Silesia showed a friendly disposition; but the ex-King saw no hope of making head against his opponents, and on the 3rd of January, 1621, he quitted Breslau for the March of Brandenburg. Elizabeth, who was pregnant, gave birth to Prince Maurice at Küstrin, January 6th; and after she had recovered from her accouchement, the exiled Sovereigns proceeded into Holland. On the 23rd of January, Frederick, together with Prince Christian of Anhalt, the Margrave John George of Brandenburg-Jägerndorf, and Count Hohenlohe were put under the ban of the Empire. An offer was made to Elizabeth some years after, that, if her eldest son were permitted to receive his education and religion at Vienna, matters might be accommodated, and that he might espouse one of the Emperor's daughters; but though she was advised to accept this offer by her brother Charles I., Elizabeth replied, "that she would sooner cut her son's throat with her own hands."²

¹ Harte, *Gustavus Adolphus*, vol. i. p. 245.

² *Ibid.* vol. i. Introd. Essay, p. xlix, and *Hist.* p. 290.

Bohemia
subjugated.

Forty-three Bohemian gentlemen who had not been fortunate enough to escape were condemned at Prague; twenty-seven of them were put to death, and the remainder sentenced to lighter punishments. Thirty more who had fled, and among them Count Thurn, were put under ban and deprived of their lands. A systematic plan was now adopted by Ferdinand II. to root out Protestantism in Bohemia and the annexed States, as well as in his Austrian dominions. Soon after the battle of Prague, all Calvinists were expelled the city. In May, 1622, a mandate was issued, directing, under the severest penalties, all who had taken any part in the disturbances to acknowledge their guilt before the Stadholder, when 728 landed proprietors appeared, and sued for mercy. The lives of these men were spared, but their property was confiscated, either wholly or in part, and incorporated with the Crown lands, or made over to those who had adhered to the Emperor and to the Catholic religion. After the Diet of Ratisbon, in 1623, Ferdinand II. went into Bohemia, the Papal Nuncio, Caraffa, preceding him by a day's journey. The use of the cup in the Lord's Supper, which had been conceded by Pope Pius IV. in 1564, after the Council of Trent, to subjects of the Austrian dominions, was forbidden. On the other hand, the revenues transferred during the predominance of Protestantism were restored to the Catholic churches and convents: but to fill these last it was necessary to bring monks from Poland. In 1626 a mandate was issued forbidding those who would not return to the Catholic faith to exercise any trade or profession. These proceedings of course excited partial disturbances, but the times were over when the Bohemians could hope to resist the royal power. Yet 30,000 families, and among them 185 of noble or knightly rank, adopted the alternative allowed them of quitting the Kingdom. The places of the emigrants were filled by Germans. Many peasant families, however, secretly retained their religious faith; and when a century and a half later, in the reign of Joseph II., religious freedom was proclaimed, the numbers who declared themselves Protestants excited much surprise. Ferdinand II. attempted not, however, to infringe the civil rights of the Bohemians; on the contrary, in May, 1627, he confirmed all their privileges, except the *Majestäts-Brief*, or Royal Charter of Rodolph; from which he tore off the seal and cut away the signature: and to gratify the

Protestant-
ism up-
rooted in
Bohemia.

national pride of the Bohemians, and to provide them another hero in place of Ziska, he caused statues to be erected, especially on bridges, to John Nepomuk; who, according to tradition, had by order of the Emperor Wenceslaus been thrown into the Moldau in 1383, for refusing to reveal what had been intrusted to him by the Empress in confession. Nepomuk was at length canonized in 1729. Ferdinand proceeded in a similar manner with his Protestant subjects in Upper, and ultimately in Lower Austria; as well as in the States dependent on Bohemia, though in Silesia, some traces of Protestantism were preserved, through the care of the Elector of Saxony.

James I., besides that his theory of the divine right of Kings caused him to regard with displeasure the acceptance by his son-in-law of the Bohemian Crown, was also unwilling at this time to break openly with the House of Austria, in consequence of the prospect held out to him by Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, of a marriage between Charles, Prince of Wales, and the second Infanta of Spain; yet as the English nation and Parliament manifested the most enthusiastic interest in the cause of the Palatine, which they identified with that of Protestantism, he could not withhold all assistance from that unfortunate Prince in endeavouring at least to maintain him in his hereditary dominions. Towards the end of 1620 James raised a considerable English force, which, uniting with the Dutch under Prince Frederick Henry, marched into the Palatinate, and succeeded in defending Frankenthal, Heidelberg, and Mannheim against Spinola, who was in possession of all the other towns and was ravaging the open country. Had these forces been adequately supported by the German Union, the restoration of Frederick in the Palatinate might probably have been effected; but the Elector of Mainz, and Louis Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, persuaded the Duke of Würtemberg and the Margrave Joachim Ernest of Brandenburg to join them in concluding a treaty with Spinola, April 12th, 1621, by which Frederick was left to his fate, and the Palatinate abandoned to the Spaniards. These Princes engaged that the Union should meddle no more with his affairs; and, indeed, after a last meeting at Heilbronn, in May, 1621, that confederacy was dissolved. The only Princes who staunchly adhered to the Palatine's cause were Count Ernest of Mansfeld, Prince

Dissolution
of the
Protestant
Union.

Christian of Brunswick, and George Frederick, Margrave of Baden-Durlach. After the battle of Prague Mansfeld had maintained himself awhile against the superior forces of Maximilian and Tilly, first in Bohemia and then in the Upper Palatinate;¹ and at last succeeded in escaping the united forces of both by a masterly retreat through Nuremberg, Windsheim, and Rothenburg, into the Lower Palatinate; and, at his approach in September, 1621, the Spaniards were compelled to raise the siege of Frankenthal. The truce between Spain and the United Provinces having now expired, Spinola, with the main body of the Spanish army, had been compelled to descend the Rhine in order to defend the Netherlands; and Gonzales de Cordova, who had been left behind with the remainder, had been engaged in a severe struggle with the troops of the Palatinate and with the English; but nothing decisive was done, and Tilly, approaching by the Bergstrasse, and devastating everything before him, from Ladenburg to Mosbach, in vain summoned Heidelberg to surrender. During the autumn and winter the contending armies supported themselves by ravaging the Palatinate and the surrounding countries. Christian of Brunswick, in an attempt to penetrate into the Palatinate from Westphalia, was defeated in the Busecker Thal, in the Wetterau, by the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt in conjunction with the Bavarians, and compelled to return into Westphalia.

Frederick at length determined to join his people, who were fighting so bravely for him; and in April, 1622, he proceeded from the Hague to Heidelberg. In Mansfeld and George Frederick of Baden-Durlach he found most disinterested friends. Mansfeld had resisted very tempting offers from the enemy, while the Margrave had, at his own expense, raised for Frederick a considerable army. The united forces defeated Tilly at Mingolsheim with great loss, April 17th; but knew not how to use their victory. Mansfeld and the Margrave did not agree; and having separated their armies, while Tilly and Gonzales had united theirs, the Margrave was completely defeated, after a well-fought battle, at Wimpfen, May 6th; his army was dispersed, and he himself compelled to seek refuge at Stuttgart. This reverse deterred the

¹ The Upper Palatinate, with Amberg for its capital, adjoined the western frontier of Bohemia.

Duke of Würtemberg from taking part with Frederick. This Prince, who was with Mansfeld's army, resolved on a bold attempt to join Christian of Brunswick, and making a sudden rush from Mannheim seized the town of Darmstadt. The Landgrave and his son were captured in their flight; but after a month's detention were liberated at the intercession of the German Princes, though on hard conditions. Christian, who was no friend to the clergy, had maintained his army in Westphalia at the expense of the Church as well as of the inhabitants, and had recruited it by holding out the hopes of plunder. In May Christian had again marched through Fulda into the Wetterau; but he was not remarkable for military talent, and instead of forming a junction with Mansfeld, he encamped at Höchst. Here he committed another blunder by accepting a battle offered to him by Tilly, to whose eighteen guns he could oppose only three, besides being deficient in cavalry. The consequence was a signal defeat (June 20th). Half of his troops were left on the field; a part of the rest were dispersed, or perished in the Main and its morasses; and with the remainder he contrived to join Mansfeld in the Bergstrasse. Their united forces were still equal to those of Tilly; but at this juncture James I. persuaded his son-in-law to give up the contest, in order to become, like himself, the victim of the Spaniards, who had persuaded James that if Frederick would humble himself, and resign for a brief period his territories into the Emperor's hands, he would be pardoned and reinstated. Accordingly, in July, Frederick dismissed Christian and Mansfeld; who, in their retreat from the Palatinate, were pursued by Gonzales de Cordova, and defeated in a bloody battle at Fleurus, in which Christian lost his arm; but they succeeded in reaching Holland with part of their troops. Mansfeld retired into East Friesland.

Frederick, who retired first to Sedan, and afterwards again into Holland, soon discovered how miserably he had been cheated. Long negotiations had been opened at Brussels, under the mediation of the British King; but, whilst they were going on, Frederick was deprived both of his Electoral dignity and of the Upper Palatinate. Duke Maximilian, who, as we have said, was in possession of Upper Austria, which he claimed to hold under the treaty of Munich till he should have been reimbursed his expenses, had brought in

Maximilian
obtains the
Palatinate.

an account of thirteen million florins ; and Ferdinand II. resolved to satisfy him at the cost of the unfortunate Palatine. At a Diet held at Ratisbon, in January, 1623, in which but few German Princes took part, the Emperor persuaded the Catholic members to transfer the Upper Palatinate, together with the Electoral dignity, to Maximilian ; who, in spite of the protests of Saxony and Brandenburg, was solemnly invested for his lifetime with Frederick's Electorship, and the annexed office of *Erztruchsess*, or Imperial steward, March 6th. Meanwhile Tilly had completed the conquest of the Lower Palatinate. Heidelberg surrendered September 15th, 1622, and the Castle on the 19th ; on the following day, Tilly laid siege to Mannheim, which place, though bravely defended by Sir Horace Vere, was compelled to capitulate, November 1st. Frankenthal held out till the following spring. By the instructions of his master Maximilian, Tilly acted with the greatest harshness towards the Protestants of the Palatinate ; they were deprived of their churches, and all ecclesiastical property was restored to the Roman Catholics. Tilly also seized the library at Heidelberg, famed among the learned throughout Europe for its collection of manuscripts. Many cart-loads of these were despatched to Munich ; and Maximilian afterwards presented the greater portion of them to the Pope. Thus the unhappy Palatine was irretrievably ruined, chiefly through the vacillation of his father-in-law, James I. In 1621 James had indeed addressed a long Latin letter to Bethlem Gabor (October 19th), beseeching him, if possible, to reduce Hungary, and proceed next year into Bohemia ; and promising, with the full consent of his Parliament, a subsidy of £80,000.¹ That fickle-minded leader, however, who had gained some successes and suffered some reverses in Hungary, concluded a peace with the Emperor at Nikolsburg, January 7th, 1622 ; by which he renounced Hungary and the title of King, in consideration of receiving in that country seven *Gespanschaften*, or counties, and the town of Kaschau, together with the principalities of Oppeln and Ratibor in Silesia, and a yearly pension of 50,000 florins.² In 1623, however, Bethlem Gabor resumed the war against

Tilly at
Heidelberg.

¹ Letter from the Hamilton MSS. in Hormayr's *Archiv.* ap. Menzel, B. iii.

² The treaty of Nikolsburg is in Katona, t. xxx. p. 709 sqq. and in Dumont, t. v. pt. ii. p. 407.

the Emperor, relying on the assistance of the German Protestants, as well as of the Turks: the history of which last people begins about this period to be again much mixed up with that of Europe.

The unimportant reign of Sultan Achmet I., with whom Austria had concluded the peace of Sitvatorok, was closed by his death, November 22nd, 1617. Nothing can more strongly testify the sunken state of the Turkish power than that it was possible to raise from a dungeon to the throne Achmet's imbecile brother, Mustapha I. After three months' enjoyment of the sceptre, Mustapha was led back to his prison, and, on the 26th of February, 1618, Osman II., a boy of fourteen, the oldest of seven sons of Achmet, was saluted Padishah by the venal troops. Osman displayed a spirit and ambition beyond his years.¹ Strong and active, and inured to all soldier-like exercises, Osman was a bold rider and an unerring marksman with the bow; but with all his energy, he lacked the perseverance without which nothing great can be accomplished, while his meanness alienated from him the hearts of the rapacious Janissaries. Osman longed to flesh his maiden scimeter in a war with Poland, between which country and the Porte bickerings had for several years existed; and he esteemed its conquest so easy that he divided the spoil beforehand. Desolating inroads had been made by the Tartars into Poland, by the Cossacks into the Turkish dominions, which in 1620 ended in open war. Poland was then ruled by the Swedish Prince Sigismund III., of whom we shall have to speak further on. Caspar Gratiani, Voyvode of Moldavia, had courted the favour of Sigismund by sending to him the intercepted letters addressed by Bethlem Gabor to the Porte, complaining of the incursions of the Polish Cossacks and freebooters. Gratiani was deposed on the discovery of his proceedings; but he would not yield without a struggle: he called upon the Poles for help, who sent him an army of 50,000 men. Against these, posted in a fortified camp near Jassy, in Moldavia, Iskander Pasha, Governor of Silistria, led a force of double their number, composed of Osmanlis and Tartars; and on the 20th of September, 1620, a great battle was fought, in which 10,000 Poles were slain. The remainder, after a fruitless attempt to defend their entrenched

Turkish
history.
Mustapha I.
and Osman
II.

¹ See his character in Sir Thomas Roe's *Negotiations*, p. 43.

camp, retreated towards the Dniester; in the passage of which river most of them perished. Gratiani himself fell in the retreat.

Osman's
attempt on
Poland.

It was this success that incited Osman to attempt the conquest of Poland, against the advice of his ministers, and even the wishes of his army; and in the spring of 1621, clothed in a suit of mail which had belonged to Soliman the Magnificent, he placed himself at the head of 100,000 men. But the march proved difficult and destructive; the mercenary troops were alienated by Osman's reluctance to pay the customary gratuity; and it was the end of August before the Turks arrived on the Dniester. Here Sigismund had encamped 40,000 Poles and Cossacks, and 8,000 Germans sent to him by the Emperor; while another army of reserve of 60,000 men, under the Crown-Prince, lay at Kaminietz. A first assault on the Polish camp was attended with some success; but the following ones were repulsed, although in the sixth and last the Sultan in person led one of the storming columns. A Polish winter set in early; men and horses perished by thousands; a mutiny broke out, and Osman, after opening negotiations for a peace, began his retreat. On the 28th of December, 1621, he entered Constantinople in triumph; for, though he had lost 80,000 men, he pretended to claim a victory. But his ill-success, his unpopularity with the army, the dearness of provisions, and the strictness of his police, which he superintended in person, soon produced symptoms of revolt among the Janissaries. As these degenerate troops¹ were averse to the warlike schemes meditated by Osman, he resolved to destroy them. The scheme he formed was bold and well designed, and, if successful, might have revived the sinking fortunes of the Turkish Empire. Under pretence of a pilgrimage to Mecca, Osman was to raise a large army at Damascus, march with it to Constantinople, and annihilate the refractory Janissaries: but his preparations, and some incautious words, prematurely betrayed his intentions. On the 18th of May, 1622, on the report that the Sultan's tent was about to be transported to Scutari, the Janissaries, associating themselves to the Spahis, rose in re-

Revolt of
the Janis-
saries.

¹ “. . . who now, contrary to their institution, being married and fathers of a family, entered into trades, receiving nothing in war more than in peace, *præter pericula et labores*, are not easily drawn from their own chimneys.”—Roe's *Negotiations*, p. 48. Sir Thomas Roe was English ambassador at the Porte, 1621-1628.

bellion, repulsed with insults their Aga and other officers, who had been sent to hear their complaints; and demanded from the Mufti a categorical answer to the inquiry, "Whether it was permitted to put to death those who misled the Padishah, and devoured the substance of the Moslems?" The Mufti having answered in the affirmative, the mutineers hastened to the palaces of the Grand-Vizier and of the Chodsha, who were thought to be the authors of the plan for their destruction; these ministers saved themselves by flight, but their palaces were plundered and destroyed. On the following day the insurrection assumed a still more formidable aspect. The Sultan having refused to give up the six authors of his pilgrimage, though he consented to renounce the pilgrimage itself, an attack was made on the Seraglio; and, in the midst of the confusion, a cry of Mustapha Khan for Sultan, echoed by thousands of voices, became the watchword of the revolution. The unhappy Mustapha, wasted to a shadow by want of air and food, and expecting death rather than a crown, was dragged from his obscure dungeon, carried to the throne room, and saluted Padishah. Osman, contemplating flight when it was too late, abandoned his Grand-Vizier and Kislar-Aga to the fury of the soldiers, by whom they were horribly murdered; the Janissaries, who would listen to no terms, though large offers were made, occupied the Seraglio, and directed all the actions of the Sultana Valide, the mother of the crazy Mustapha; and Constantinople was abandoned to plunder and devastation. Osman, who had fled to the palace of the Aga of the Janissaries, was dragged from his hiding-place, and conducted, with abuse and derision, first to the barracks of the mutineers, and then to the Seven Towers. On the way, his faithful adherent, Hussein Pasha, was murdered at his feet; and he himself was soon after put to death, by order of the Valide and her Vizier, Daud Pasha.¹ During the brief second sultanship of Mustapha I. a peace with Poland was the only event of importance, effected chiefly through Sir Thomas Roe. On the 30th of August, 1623, a counter revolution took place at Constantinople. Mustapha was deposed with the consent of the Janissaries, who even renounced on this occasion the accustomed donative, and the eldest sur-

Osman II.
deposed
and put to
death.

Accession
of Amurath
IV.

¹ For this revolution see Antoine Galland, *La Mort du Sultan Osman*; and the *Despatches* of Sir Thomas Roe.

viving son of Achmet I., now fourteen years of age, ascended the throne with the title of Amurath IV. The unhappy Mustapha survived his deposition sixteen years.

James I. during these events, the Spanish match being still in hand, had instructed Sir Thomas Roe to maintain peace between the Porte, the Emperor, and the King of Poland; although, as we have seen, the British King had secretly afforded some trifling aid to his son-in-law the Palatine, both by sending him a few troops, and by endeavouring underhand to excite Bethlem Gabor to action. In 1623 this Prince, whom Sir Isaac Wake, the English minister at Venice, characterized as a Janus with one face towards Christendom and another towards Turkey, renewed the war against Ferdinand; and, though he could then count but little on the help of the Turks, he entered Hungary, took several places, and even threatened Pressburg, Raab, and Comorn. On the approach of winter, however, he was compelled to dismiss his army; when the Tartars, of which it was partly composed, carried off 20,000 Hungarians into slavery. In May, 1624, Gabor again concluded a peace with the Emperor, which did not differ much from that of Nikolsburg. As the Spanish match had now gone off, we find secretary Calvert instructing Roe, May 28th, 1624, to do all in his power to keep well with the Transylvanian Prince.¹ While Poland was attacked in the south by Osman and the Turks, Sigismund III. had to defend himself in the north from his kinsman, the renowned Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden: and as this last country, as well as Denmark, by the part which they took in the 'Thirty Years' War, were now about to become of great importance in the European system, it will here be proper to take a brief review of their history.

We need not carry our retrospect beyond the Union of Calmar in 1397; by which the three northern Kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden were joined together under the famous Danish Queen Margaret.² The most noteworthy articles of the Act of Union were: that the right of electing a Sovereign should be exercised conjointly by the three King-

¹ Roe's *Negotiations*, p. 244.

² For these countries may be consulted, Mallet, *Hist. de Dannemarc*; Allen, *Haandbog i Fædrelandets Historie* (übersetzt von Falck); Vertot, *Révol. de Suède*; Geijer, *Gesch. Schwedens* (translated from MS. by Leffler).

Bethlem
Gabor in
Hungary.

Retrospect
of Scandi-
navian
history.

doms; that a son of the reigning King, if there were any, should be preferred; that each Kingdom should keep its own laws and customs; and that all should combine for the common defence. But this confederacy, which seemed calculated to promote the power and tranquillity of Scandinavia, proved the source of much discontent and jealousy and of several bloody wars. Margaret was succeeded on her death, in 1412, by Eric of Pomerania, the son of her sister's daughter. Eric, who was at that time in his thirtieth year, had married, in 1406, Philippa, daughter of Henry IV. of England, a lady distinguished by her understanding, goodness, and courage. In 1428 Philippa defended Copenhagen against the combined fleet of Holstein and the Hanse towns, whilst Eric lay hid in a convent at Sord.¹ Eric's reign was tyrannical and turbulent. In 1439 the Danes and Swedes renounced their allegiance; and Eric, who was then in the island of Gothland, had henceforth to eke out a subsistence by piracy. The Kingdoms elected in Eric's stead Christopher of Bavaria, son of his sister Catharine by John, Duke of the Upper Palatinate; but, after Christopher's death, in 1448, the Calmar Union was dissolved. The Danes now elected for their King Count Christian of Oldenburg; while the Swedes and Norwegians chose Charles Knutson. But in the following year Charles was compelled to resign Norway to Christian, and in 1457 he lost even Sweden through an insurrection led by the Archbishop of Upsala; Christian was at once chosen in his place, and crowned at Upsala; and in the following year the Councils of all three Kingdoms, assembled at Skara, recognized Christian's son John as his successor.

King Christian I. became still more powerful by being chosen to succeed his maternal uncle in Sleswig and Holstein.² He had, however, to strive for a long while with Charles Knutson for the throne of Sweden, and after Charles's death, in 1470, with Sten Sture, a nobleman of Dalecarlia, to whom Charles had bequeathed the administration of the realm. In 1471 a battle was fought on the Brunkebjerg, a height now inclosed in the city of Stockholm, in which the Danish King was utterly defeated, though, of course, he continued to hold

Union of
Calmar
renewed.

¹ Philippa herself died in the convent of Wadstena, in 1430, without issue. Geijer, *Gesch. Schwedens*, B. i. S. 197.

² Holstein was erected into a Duchy in favour of Christian by the Emperor Frederick III. in 1474. Pfeffel, t. ii. p. 43.

the old Danish lands beyond the Sound, viz., Scania, Halland, and Bleking. Christian died in 1481, and was succeeded in Denmark and Norway by his son John. The Swedes, in 1483, acknowledged John's supremacy by renewing the Union of Calmar; yet, in spite of all his efforts and the domestic dissensions prevailing in Sweden, John could never really establish himself in that country. Sten Sture's regency had excited much discontent in Sweden. In 1503 he died, and was succeeded by Swante Sture, who, though a namesake, was no kinsman. Swante Sture, after some struggles and vicissitudes, succeeded in retaining the regency, and on his death in 1512, his son, Sten Sture the younger, was elected in his place.

Accession
of Christian
II.

King John died in 1513. The education of his son and successor, Christian II., recalls the patriarchal ages, and shows how rude were the manners at that time even of the highest classes in Scandinavia. In 1502, being in his twentieth year, he was sent as Viceroy into Norway to quell an insurrection, which he effected in the most brutal manner; and during the eight years that he remained in that country he almost annihilated the nobility. At Bergen, where he resided, then the staple of the northern Hanseatic trade, he fell in love with a girl called Dyveke, or Little Dove, daughter of Sigbrit, a huckstress of Amsterdam, who had set up a tavern at Bergen. From these women, who completely ruled him, Christian seems to have imbibed the democratical principles common in the Netherlands. He was the enemy of nobles and prelates, and opposed the oppression which they exercised over the peasants, who in Denmark were then nothing but serfs. It must be recollected, however, that the constitution of Denmark, as well as of Norway and Sweden, consisted then of an aristocracy, or rather oligarchy, of nobles, which left the King but little real power, and which he of course regarded with aversion. After Christian's accession, in 1513, he openly lived with his mistress Dyveke, and she and her mother continued to retain their influence over him in spite of his marriage with Isabella, a sister of the Emperor Charles V.

Heattempts
the con-
quest of
Sweden.

It was during the reign of Christian II. that Denmark first began to have much connection with the rest of Europe. In the year of his accession, he allied himself with the Wendish group of towns of the Hanseatic League, whose

capital was Lübeck; and he subsequently formed alliances with Russia, France, England, and Scotland, with the view of obtaining their aid in his contemplated reduction of Sweden; but he deferred any expedition against that country till a favourable opportunity was presented through Gustaf Trolle, Archbishop of Upsala, who, with many of the old Swedish nobility, hated the Sture family. In 1517 Trolle levied open war against the administrator Sten Sture, in which Christian supported him with a fleet; but Sten Sture succeeded in capturing Trolle, had him deposed from his see in a Diet convened at Arboga, and razed to the ground his strong castle of Stäket. In the next year Christian again appeared before Stockholm with a fleet and army, in which were 2,000 French sent by Francis I. Christian was defeated by Sten Sture in a battle near Bränkirka, after which he sought an interview with the regent, in the meantime demanding hostages till he should have safely returned to his ships. Six noble Swedes were accordingly placed in his hands, and among them the young Gustavus Ericson who had carried the Swedish banner in the battle; but, with an infamous breach of faith, Christian had no sooner got back to his ships than he carried the hostages off with him to Denmark.

The Archbishop of Upsala having gone to Rome to complain of Sten Sture, the Pope appointed in Denmark an ecclesiastical commission, which excommunicated the administrator and his party, and laid all Sweden under an interdict. This proceeding, which served to pave the way for Sweden's acceptance of the Lutheran reformation, afforded Christian II. a pretence for getting up a crusade against that country, and levying money both on clergy and laity; and he employed the year 1519 in gathering a large army, to which adventurers flocked from all parts of Europe. Early in 1520 this army invaded Sweden, under command of Otte Krumpe, who caused the Papal interdict to be placarded on all the church doors. Sture was defeated and wounded in a battle fought on the ice at Aasund in West Gothland; and a traitor offered to lead Krumpe into Upland, by avoiding the *abattis* with which the passes had been protected. At this news Sten Sture, in spite of his wound, hastened to the defence of Stockholm, but died on the way in his sledge on Mälar Lake. The Swedes were routed in a second battle near Upsala, after

He obtains possession of Stockholm.

which a treaty was concluded to the effect that Christian should reign in Sweden, agreeably to the Union of Calmar, but on condition of granting an entire amnesty. Christian now proceeded to Stockholm, where in November his coronation was performed with great splendour. Christian at first behaved in a most friendly manner, and promised to be not only a King, but even a father, to the Swedes; yet he had no sooner received the crown than he took the most inhuman vengeance on his confiding subjects. Two bishops, the burgo-master of Stockholm, the town council, and many nobles, were beheaded in the market-place; other executions, often preceded by torture, followed, during a space of four days; and the city was given up to be plundered by the soldiers like a place taken by storm. Orders were despatched to Finland to proceed in a similar manner, while the King's progress southward was everywhere marked by executions.

Inhuman
conduct of
Christian
II.

Gustavus
Vasa in
Dalecarlia.

These cruelties, for which Christian was reproached by his brother-in-law, Charles V., procured for him the name of the Nero of the North, and brought on insurrections in all his dominions. That in Sweden was led by Gustavus Ericson, the hostage already mentioned, a young man remarkable alike by his origin, talent, and courage; whose family, for what reason is not precisely known, afterwards assumed the name of Vasa, which was borne neither by himself nor by his forefathers.¹ During his captivity in Denmark, Gustavus Vasa had been intrusted to the custody of his kinsman, Eric Baner, a nobleman of Jutland, who kept him in his castle of Kallö. At his keeper's table Gustavus heard of the preparations for war with Sweden, and was insulted by the boasts of the young Danes, how they would divide Swedish lands, how they would cast lots for Swedish maidens, so that he could rest neither day nor night. He escaped one morning from Kallö, disguised himself as an ox-driver, and, in September, 1519, reached Lübeck in safety, where he remained eight months. In May, 1520, soon after the death of Sten Sture, and when the Danes under Christian were besieging Stockholm, the Lübeckers landed Gustavus secretly at Stensö, near Calmar; but he found among his countrymen no response to his appeals to them to arm, and was fain to fly.

¹ Geijer, B. ii. S. 1. Modern writers, however, give him the name of Vasa, which we shall retain. The year of his birth was probably 1496. *Ibid.* S. 3.

How he spent the summer, disguised and wandering in by-paths in order to escape recognition—for a price had been set upon his head—is not known. It was September before he arrived at Tarna, the estate of his brother-in-law Joachim Brahe in Södermanland; whom, however, he could not dissuade from attending Christian's coronation. Brahe went to Stockholm, which city, as we have said, had been entered in the autumn by Christian, and there met his death. The father of Gustavus was among those who had signed the deed conferring the Swedish Crown upon Christian, but he was, nevertheless, as well as his son-in-law, one of the victims of that monster. At Räfna, his paternal estate, to which he had proceeded on leaving Tarna, Gustavus heard the news of the massacre, and he mounted his horse and fled, attended by a single servant, who robbed and forsook him. Gustavus now took the road to Dalecarlia, a land noted for its love of freedom and hatred of Danes. Here he worked in peasant's clothes, for daily wages, in hourly danger from his pursuers, from whom he had many narrow escapes; and was once wounded with a lance as he lay hidden under a heap of straw. His adventures, which remind us of those of our own Alfred, are still related in that neighbourhood; the barns at Rankhytta in which he threshed oats, the building near Ornäs where his life was saved by a woman, are preserved as national monuments; the spot near Marnaas where he lay hid under a felled pine trunk, the hill near Asby surrounded with marshes, where he found refuge, the cellar in the village of Utmetland, where he hid himself, are still pointed out.

The news of Christian's "blood bath" procured Gustavus Vasa many followers; he was elected for their leader by a great assembly of peasants at the Mora Stone, and found himself at the head of thousands of men; whom, though undisciplined and armed only with spears, clubs, bows, swords, and such weapons as chance afforded, he soon rendered fully a match for the Danish troops. His situation was embarrassing as well as difficult; for the Danes, besides possessing all the fortresses and castles in the Kingdom, had carried off as hostages some of the most distinguished Swedish ladies, including the mother and two sisters of Gustavus himself. Nevertheless, he boldly went to war, and in June, 1521, he invested Stockholm; but the siege, for want of properartil-

He is appointed
Regent.

lery and engineering skill, was protracted two years. During this period his command was confirmed in a *Herrendag*, or assembly of nobles, at Wadstena, August 24th; the Crown was proffered to him, which he declined, but accepted the office of Regent. The Danes were now by degrees almost entirely driven out of Sweden; and Christian II., so far from being able to relieve Stockholm, found himself in danger of losing the Danish Crown. He had quarrelled with his uncle, Duke Frederick of Holstein; he had offended his own Danish subjects, as well as the Hanse towns, by his commercial regulations, and especially by an ordinance forbidding the sale of agricultural produce to foreigners, and directing it to be brought to Copenhagen and there sold to Danish merchants; and he had alienated the nobles by laws, good and just in themselves, but contrary to the capitulation he had entered into on his accession; among which was, that they should not be allowed to sell the peasants with the land. He had made enemies of the clergy by prohibiting them from buying farms, unless they should marry like their forefathers. He had also committed many acts of barbarity and cruelty; and to escape the odium which they brought upon him, he caused Didrik Slaghøek, whom he had made Archbishop of Lund, to be burnt alive as the author of them.

Christian
is expelled
from Den-
mark.

By his connection with the House of Austria, as well as through the influence of Sigbrit, Christian had been led in his commercial policy to favour the Netherlanders at the expense of the Hanse towns; and the cities of Lübeck, Dantzic, Wismar, and Rostock now took their revenge by declaring for Gustavus Vasa, ravaging the Danish coasts, seizing Danish ships, occupying Bornholm, and plundering Helsingör. The same towns also concluded an alliance with Christian's uncle Frederick, who had formed secret connections with the Danish nobles, and induced them to renounce their allegiance to his nephew, and place himself on the throne with the title of Frederick I. The Union of Calmar was now again dissolved. The Norwegians, indeed, agreed to accept Frederick's sovereignty; but when Frederick called upon the Swedish States to recognize his title in conformity with the Union, they replied that they had already chosen Gustavus Ericson for their King; which was done at the Diet of Strängnäs, June 7th, 1523. Three weeks after Stockholm surrendered to Gustavus. Bewildered by this revolution,

Christian II. fled from Copenhagen in April, before there was any necessity to do so; indeed that city, Malmö, Kallundborg, and some other places, did not acknowledge Frederick till the beginning of 1524; at which time the island of Gothland was all that remained faithful to Christian. From Copenhagen Christian and his wife sailed to the Netherlands.

Meanwhile, in Sweden, Gustavus was consolidating his power, partly by moderation and mildness, partly by examples of necessary severity. He put himself at the head of the Reformation, as Frederick I. also did in Denmark; and he acted with that mixture of softness and dissimulation, combined with boldness in action, which always distinguished him. Luther's doctrines had been first introduced into Sweden in 1519, by two brothers, Olaus and Lawrence Petri, who had studied at Wittenberg. The Petris soon attracted the attention of Gustavus, who gave them his protection, and entered himself into correspondence with Luther. The designs of Gustavus were helped by the circumstance that, at his accession, four out of the six Swedish bishoprics were vacant; and Gustaf Trolle, Archbishop of Upsala, who had taken part against him, had been declared an enemy of his country. As in other parts of Europe, the nobles were induced to join the movement by the prospect of sharing the spoils of the Church; and in a great Diet at Westerås in 1527, the Reformation was introduced. The castles and lands of the prelates were then seized; convents were suppressed, and their inmates turned adrift; and many were inclined to withhold even the tithes of the parochial clergy, had not the King issued an order for their payment. There seems to have been no great difficulty in introducing the Reformation among this simple people, for the majority of the Swedes were so ignorant as not to know the difference between Romanism and Lutheranism. Gustavus I. always denied that he had introduced a new doctrine; and even under his son and successor, John III., a great part of the people still believed themselves to belong to the Romish faith.¹ The Reformation in Sweden was not, however, unaccompanied with disturbances on the part of the higher classes, and many years elapsed before it was completely established.

Meanwhile Christian II., a wanderer and an exile, was

Gustavus consolidates his power in Sweden.

¹ Geijer, B. ii. S. 218.

Christian
II. is im-
prisoned
for life.

seeking the aid of foreign Princes to re-establish himself on the throne of Denmark. The merchants of the Netherlands whom he had befriended, as well as some of the German Princes, were in his favour; and, in 1531, the government of the Netherlands allowed him to raise in Holland an army of 8,000 or 10,000 men, who were embarked in Dutch ships with the intention of landing them in the Danish province of Halland, beyond the Sound; but the fleet was driven by stress of weather on the coast of Norway, and towards the end of autumn a landing was effected at Opslo. Here, during the winter, Christian was secure from the attacks of Frederick and Gustavus, who had combined against him. Christian had been a convert to Lutheranism, but, as his faith sat easy upon him, he now declared himself the protector of Catholicism in Norway; the whole country, except a few fortified places, declared in his favour, and he was even proclaimed King of Norway.¹ In the spring of 1532, however, when the ice had broken up, a Swedish army had entered Upper Norway; the Danish and Wendish Hanse fleets landed a large force at Opslo; and Christian, whose men were daily deserting because he had no means to pay them, was compelled to shut himself up in the castle, and enter into negotiations with the Danish commander. By a treaty signed at Aggerhuys, July 1st, it was agreed that Christian should be carried into Denmark, to treat in person with his uncle Frederick; and that he should be at liberty to quit the Kingdom if no agreement should be concluded: but such was the hatred of the Danish nobles towards him, that they compelled Frederick to condemn him to perpetual imprisonment, and to give eight written promises to that effect into the custody of four Danish and four Holstein noblemen. The unhappy Christian was immured in the Castle of Sonderborg; all the windows of his vaulted chamber were walled up, except one, through which his food was conveyed; and a half-witted dwarf was appointed to be his only attendant and companion. In this miserable prison he continued seventeen years, till in 1549 he was removed to the Castle of Kallundborg, and there during the remainder of his life, which lasted till 1559, he was treated with something like royal dignity; but his health and spirits had already been completely broken.

¹ Geijer, B. ii. S. 81.

Frederick I. died at Gottorp, his usual residence, in 1533, when a contest began for the Danish Crown. The Diet was assembled, but the election of a King was deferred for a year by the State Council, who during the interregnum exercised supreme power. The city of Lübeck, now governed by two enterprising democrats, Marcus Mejer, and George Wollenwever, seized the opportunity to endeavour to place a protégé of their own on the throne of Denmark, and thus revive the waning power of the Hansa; and they associated in their undertaking the burgomasters of Malmö and Copenhagen. As Duke Christian of Holstein, eldest son of Frederick I., would not submit to the terms which they prescribed as the conditions of helping him to the throne, they employed Count Christian of Oldenburg to invade Denmark on pretence of restoring Christian II. The Count having raised an army with the money of Lübeck, demanded from the Duke of Holstein the liberation of the imprisoned King, and passed over into Denmark with the Hanse fleet. He was favourably received in Malmö and Copenhagen; all Scania and Seeland submitted to him as the representative of Christian II.; and the peasants of Jutland were also in his favour. Alarmed at these proceedings, the Council now chose the Duke of Holstein for their King, with the title of Christian III. (July, 1534); but the Count of Oldenburg maintained himself in Denmark throughout the year, till the new Sovereign was helped by the arms of the King of Sweden.

Election of
Christian
III.

Gustavus was now at variance with the Wendish Hanse towns. They had, indeed, liberally assisted him in his struggle in Sweden; but they made exorbitant claims upon his gratitude. They demanded that the Netherlands, with whom Gustavus had concluded a treaty in 1526, should be excluded from the commerce of the Baltic; and Lübeck required with such impatience the repayment of a loan of 28,000 rix-dollars, that Gustavus, to satisfy the demand, was compelled to order every parish to contribute one of its church bells. As the strict and vigorous government of Gustavus had occasioned considerable discontent in Sweden, the Lübeckers took advantage of it to declare war against him. Among the malcontents was the King's own brother-in-law, the Count of Hoya, who fled to Lübeck with his wife and children; where Gustaf Trolle and other dissatisfied nobles gathered around him. All these embraced the cause

Difficulties
of Gustavus
Vasa

of the Count of Oldenburg and Christian II., against the new King of Denmark. But as his own Kingdom was threatened, Gustavus's army entered the Danish provinces lying beyond the Sound; the Lübeckers were driven out of Scania, Halland, and Bleking; in January 1535, Christian of Oldenburg and Marcus Mejer were completely defeated in a battle near Helsingborg; and the Hanseatic fleet was also vanquished by that of Denmark and Sweden. In Denmark Proper, the invaders sustained a disastrous defeat from the King's troops in Funen, in which Gustaf Trolle was mortally wounded; and though Copenhagen held out a year, under the extremities of famine, it was at length forced to capitulate. After this defeat the party of the invaders fell to pieces; and Lübeck found it expedient to conclude a peace with Christian III. (February, 1536). The commercial privileges of the Lübeckers were renewed, and they were invested with Bornholm for another fifty years. After this war, which was called "the Count's War," Christian III. and Gustavus Vasa put the finishing hand to the Reformation in their respective dominions, and to the temporal power of the clergy. Christian caused all the Danish bishops to be arrested on the same day, and then proceeded to confiscate ecclesiastical property. Lutheranism was formally established in Denmark in the autumn of 1536. At the personal interview between Christian and Gustavus at Brömsebro in Calmar in 1541, a peace of twenty years was concluded. While Sweden, in 1540, had with the consent of the States been converted into an hereditary Kingdom, Christian III. found himself obliged to weaken his power by dividing Denmark, according to German fashion, with his two brothers, John and Adolf. Admonished, however, by the difficulties and dangers which had attended his own election, he took care betimes that his son should be appointed his successor, who was elected in 1542, and on the death of his father in 1559, succeeded to the Crown, with the title of Frederick II.

Death of
Gustavus
Vasa.

Gustavus Vasa died in September, 1560. Under his sway Sweden attained to great prosperity, and the latter half of his reign was accounted the happiest time that country ever saw. He bestowed great care on trade, and especially on mining and working in metals; and he restored public order by a strict police. He was a rigid economist, and during the

Reformation laid his hands on all the plate and movables of the churches and ecclesiastical foundations. He personally engaged in agriculture, mining, and trade, and lived a long while in rural fashion on his farms in Finland. After the death of Gustavus, Sweden again fell into confusion, and almost barbarism. His eldest son, who succeeded him with the title of Eric XIV., though possessing talents and accomplishments, was subject to occasional fits of mental derangement; and Gustavus, to avert the danger threatened by his reign, had made his other three sons nearly equal to Eric in power. To John he gave Finland; to Magnus, East Gothland; and to Charles, Södermanland, which provinces they ruled as hereditary Dukes. But of these brothers Magnus was still more deranged than Eric, while John and Charles were unfeeling and cruel. Eric had been one of Queen Elizabeth's suitors; who, however, with less than her usual coquetry, seems to have written to Gustavus to dissuade his son from a hopeless suit.¹ Eric afterwards married the daughter of a corporal of his guard.

Eric soon found himself engaged in hostilities with the Danes, the Russians, and his three brothers. After the dissolution of the military order of the Knights of the Sword, which had ruled in Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland, like the Teutonic Order in Prussia, the Russians attempted to seize Livonia. Magnus, brother of Frederick II. of Denmark, had in vain attempted to protect the Livonians, who now appealed to Eric; and in 1561 the Swedish King landed an army at Revel, and compelled the Russians to a peace. But shortly afterwards Eric fell into a quarrel with his brother John, Duke of Finland, who, contrary to Eric's will, had married Catharine Jagellonica, a sister of Sigismund II., the last male of the house of Jagellon; a union which opened to him a prospect of the Polish throne. The Archbishopric of Riga having on the death of the Archbishop been made over to Sweden by his coadjutor, but the transfer being disputed by the Poles, Eric called on his brother John to aid him with a fleet and money in taking possession. John, considering himself an independent Sovereign, refused to comply, upon which Eric summoned both John and his wife before his tribunal at Stockholm, and on their refusing to appear,

Eric XIV.
of Sweden.

¹ Geijer, B. ii. S. 141.

caused the Swedish States to condemn John to death as a rebellious vassal, and besieged and captured him in his castle at Abo, August, 1563. John and Catharine were confined at Gripsholm, where they were kept shut up for four years. A war which broke out with Denmark about the same time, entailed great misery on Sweden, and the acts of cruelty committed by Eric in his insanity, which had now become more confirmed, set everybody against him. At last, in one of the paroxysms of his disorder, Eric repaired to the prison of his brother John, fell at his feet, saluted him as his Sovereign, and gave him his liberty. The first use that John made of his freedom was to conspire with his brother Charles against Eric. In September, 1568, John and Charles having collected around them at Wadstena all the malcontents of the Kingdom, proceeded to Stockholm, into which they were admitted by the citizens; Eric surrendered himself, and early in 1569 John caused him to be deposed by the States, and condemned to death; his marriage was declared null, and the offspring of it illegitimate. At the intercession of the Queen-dowager, Eric's stepmother, his sentence was commuted to perpetual imprisonment; and John was elected King in his place, January 24th, 1569. The unfortunate Eric survived these events eight years, although John and Charles endeavoured by ill-usage to put an end to his life. He was treated like a common malefactor; and in the autumn of 1574, on the discovery of some plans to effect his release, he was thrown into the frightful tower of Orbyhuys in Upland. Two or three years after, John procured from the clergy a sanction to offer him up "for the good of the people,"—in other words, to murder him; and he was poisoned with some soup, February, 1577, in his forty-fourth year.

Deposed by
his brother
John.

Death of
Frederick
II. of
Denmark.
Accession
of Christian
IV.

Frederick II. of Denmark died in 1588, after a long and prosperous reign. Frederick kept a splendid Court, patronized art and science, and spent large sums in the astronomical pursuits of his favourite, Tycho Brahe, at Uranienborg. His son and successor, Christian IV., who had been elected in 1586, was still a child; but the reputation of his father shed a glory over his accession, which, however, was destined to fade in the Thirty Years' War. It must be recollected that at this period Denmark held beyond the Sound several old Danish lands now belonging to the Kingdom of Sweden,

comprising a fifth part of the inhabitants; and by the peace of Stettin, concluded with the Swedish King, John, in 1570, the possession of Scania, Halland, Bleking, Herjedalen, Jemtland, Bohus, and Wyck, was confirmed to the Danes.

King John, with the many friends of his consort Catharine Jagellonica, had in 1587 procured their son to be elected King of Poland, with the title of Sigismund III. This was an unfortunate event for Sweden, from the contests which it afterwards occasioned. Catharine was a zealous Catholic, led by the Jesuits, who had been introduced into Sweden; and Sigismund was brought up in his mother's faith. It was generally believed that John himself had turned Catholic; but he was not willing to sacrifice his Crown for the Pope, especially as he saw that his brother Charles was endeavouring to form a party as head of the Protestants. John was prudent enough to banish the Jesuits, to dissolve their college at Stockholm, to fill the professorial chairs with their opponents, and to threaten with exile all those who had gone over to the Catholic Church.

Reign of
John of
Sweden.

King John died November 17th, 1592. His brother Charles had been for some time the virtual ruler of Sweden; and, as his nephew Sigismund was in Poland at the time of his father's death, Charles continued to hold the regency, although the government should have been intrusted to seven Councillors. Charles had been endeavouring to deprive Sigismund of the Swedish succession, on the ground of his religion; and he was helped in his views by the circumstance that both the Poles and the Swedes demanded the constant residence of their Sovereign among them. In the autumn of 1593, on the approach of Sigismund with an army, Charles indeed found it necessary to lay down the government, and his nephew received the Swedish Crown; but in the following year Sigismund was compelled to return to Poland, and he left his uncle Charles to govern Sweden with royal powers. Charles used his authority to make preparations for seizing the Crown. Sigismund returned to Sweden to dispute it with him, but was ultimately defeated in a battle at Stängebro in September, 1598. In the following February, the Swedish States conferred the government upon Charles, with the title of "Ruling Hereditary Prince;" and in July they declared that if Sigismund did not immediately send his son Ladislaus into Sweden, to be educated in the Lutheran faith, he and

Charles IX.
of Sweden.

his posterity should be excluded from the Swedish Crown. Charles now sought to establish his power by numerous cruel executions, chiefly of the nobles; for by the peasants and clergy he was regarded as their deliverer from the papistry of Sigismund, and he even obtained the name of "the peasants' friend." At length, in 1604, Charles, having filled all the chief offices of the Kingdom with his adherents, assumed, as Charles IX., the title of "King Elect, and Hereditary Prince of the Swedes, Vandals, and Goths."¹ Gustavus Adolphus, then in his tenth year,² his eldest son by his marriage with Christina, daughter of Duke Adolf of Holstein-Gottorp, and granddaughter of Frederick I. of Denmark, was at the same time recognized as Crown Prince, and his brother Charles Philip as Hereditary Prince, with remainder, in default of male issue, to their sister. The last years of Charles IX. were spent in war with Russia, Poland, and Denmark. Christian IV. of Denmark, who was only eleven years of age at the time of his father's death, did not obtain the government of that Kingdom till 1596; and, when it was at length committed to him, he was compelled, like his predecessors, to sign a capitulation, which circumscribed his power even more than theirs. During his minority the Council of State had contested the regency with his mother and uncle, and assigned it to four of their own members: and no attention was paid, except in the Duchies of Sleswig and Holstein, to the letters of Rodolph II. pronouncing Christian of age in his seventeenth year. Christian I. had conferred on these provinces the right of choosing their own Regent, and the pretensions of the Danish Council were consequently excluded there.

The first years of Christian IV.'s reign were prosperous. He chose the oldest and most experienced statesmen for his counsellors; he was himself intelligent and industrious; he founded the prosperity of Norway on the ruins of the Hanseatic League, and personally surveyed the coasts of that country to find convenient havens for trade; nor did Iceland, in its remote and icy ocean, escape his vigilance and cares. The power of Denmark was then superior to that of Sweden, nor was Christian disinclined to use it in a contest with the Swedish King, between whom and himself an ill-feeling pre-

¹ Geijer, B. ii. S. 335.

² Gustavus Adolphus was born in the Castle of Stockholm, December 9th, 1594 O. S.

vailed. This festered still more rancorously in Christian's breast after Charles IX. had been solemnly crowned King of Sweden in 1608; but the Danish Council, on which Christian was dependent, was averse to open hostilities, and he was constrained to gratify his hatred by fomenting the rebellions of the Swedish nobles. Charles, on his side, was unwilling to engage with his powerful neighbour in a war for which no pretext could be alleged, except the three crowns displayed in the armorial bearings of both Sovereigns, the asylum given to Swedish fugitives by Christian, and the contested possession of the Lap Marks and of the island of Oesel, alike valueless to both countries. Denmark, however, was longing to extend her possessions beyond the Sound; and in April, 1611, after some correspondence between the Danish and Swedish Kings, which might not disgrace Billingsgate, Christian IV. declared war.

Charles IX. had been disabled by a stroke of palsy from any active exertions, and he committed the conduct of the war to his son Gustavus Adolphus, now in his seventeenth year. The campaign went in favour of the Danes, who took Calmar. Before the end of the year Gustavus became King of Sweden. Charles IX. died in October, 1611; and in the following December, Gustavus Adolphus, with the consent of the States, succeeded to his father's title of "King Elect of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals." Gustavus had been well educated. He was master of several modern languages, as well as Greek and Latin; he had been early trained to business; and in the art of war, in which he was to acquire so much renown, he had the advantage of the instructions of two famous captains, Ewert Horn and the Baron de la Gardie, a French noble. In the report of a Dutch ambassador at the Court of Sweden, two or three years after the accession of Gustavus, he is described as slim and well-formed in person, of pale and rather long countenance, with light hair and pointed beard, inclining to yellow. He had the reputation of courage, combined with humanity and good temper, of prudence, vigilance, and industry; he possessed eloquence, and was amiable and affable in his intercourse with everybody; so that great expectations were entertained of him.¹

Accession
of Gustavus
Adolphus,
1611.

¹ *Journal der Legatie ghedan, 1615 ende 1616*, ap. Geijer, *Gesch. Schwedens*, B. iii. S. 92. When Gustavus Adolphus is described as

These expectations were not to be disappointed. Under Gustavus, Sweden first made its might felt and respected as a European Power; and during the brief period that he took a part in the Thirty Years' War, he was by far its most prominent figure.

His Danish
war.

Gustavus was naturally impetuous, and easily governed by his ideas; but at his accession he chose for his chancellor and minister Axel Oxenstiern; a man who, though only about ten years older than himself, was already, at the age of twenty-eight, distinguished as a cold, practical statesman, the very model of a diplomatist. By this man were the affairs of Sweden for a long period to be directed. The first step of the youthful monarch, who found himself hampered with a Russian as well as a Danish war, was to endeavour to make peace with Christian IV.; but the Danes repulsed his herald, and would not even allow Gustavus the title of King. He was therefore constrained to take the field; and in a battle with the Danes on the frozen lake of Widsjö, he nearly lost his life; the ice broke under the weight of Gustavus and his horse, and he was with difficulty rescued.¹ The war went rather in favour of Denmark; but both sides were exhausted, and in January, 1613, a peace was concluded by English mediation. It was in favour of the Danes; but Gustavus was anxious to conclude it, in order that he might take a part in the affairs of Russia. That country was now in a state of prostration. The throne was vacant and contested; four impostors, under the name of Demetrius, had successively claimed it; the Swedes had penetrated to Neva and Novgorod, the Poles to Moscow and Smolensk; the successes of the Swedes under La Gardie had inclined a large party of the Russians to choose Charles Philip, brother of Gustavus, for their Tsar;² but early in 1613 Michael Romanoff was elected, the founder of the present HOUSE OF ROMANOFF. The Russian war continued four or five years. Gustavus took a personal share in it, and he and La Gardie at first

His Russian
and Polish
wars.

slim, it was, perhaps, according to the Dutch standard, and in his youth. In after life, though never corpulent, he was large-limbed and bony; so that, when clothed in armour, no Swedish horse could carry him. Harte, *Gustav Adolphus*. For his history, see also Gfrörer, *Gustav Adolph*.

¹ Geijer, B. iii. S. 86.

² The title Tsar or Czar was first formally assumed by Ivan IV. in 1547.

gained considerable advantages; but after his failure at the siege of Pleskow, the King of Sweden began to lower his demands, and in February, 1617, a peace was concluded at Stolbova, through the mediation of James I., and Gustavus acknowledged Michael Romanoff as Tsar. By this peace the ground on which St. Petersburg now stands was included in the limits of Swedish territory.

After the Russian peace the war with Poland broke out afresh. In the summer of 1621 Gustavus began his campaigns against that country by the siege and capture of Riga. In the preceding year he had married Mary Eleanor, sister of George William, the new Elector of Brandenburg. He had previously visited Berlin *incognito*, to judge for himself of his future consort, and he had also proceeded to the Court of the Elector Palatine. The Polish war lasted nine years; but to detail its operations would afford neither instruction nor amusement. It was concluded in September, 1629, by the six years' truce of Altmark, by which Gustavus retained Livonia and the towns of Elbing, Braunsberg, Pillau, and Memel. He was preparing to take a part in the Thirty Years' War of Germany, to which subject and the affairs connected with it we must now revert. For that enterprise his campaigns in Russia and Poland had served to qualify him, in which he had not only acquired the experience of a general, but, at the cost of more than one serious wound, had displayed the most brilliant valour.

Truce of
Altmark.

CHAPTER XXXII

AFFAIRS OF SPAIN, ITALY, AND FRANCE.—PROGRESS OF THE WAR

IN the year 1624 the struggle in Germany assumed a new aspect, through the interference in it of Denmark and France. The return of Cardinal Richelieu to power gave an entirely new direction to French politics; and it will therefore be necessary briefly to resume the history of that country, as well as of Spain, which played an important part in all the events of this period.

In spite of the good understanding between the French and Spanish Courts during the administration of Luynes, the policy of Spain in Italy almost produced a war between those countries. Ever since the Spaniards had become masters of the Milanese, they had not ceased to covet the Valtellina, which had been ceded to the Grison Leagues by the last of the Sforzas. It was not for its extent or fertility that they desired to possess that country, but because it would secure their communication with the Austrian dominions, as well as the command of the passes leading into the Venetian territories; for the Valtellina, a long narrow valley watered by the Adda, stretched from the Lake of Como to the S.W. frontier of Tyrol. After the breaking out of the Thirty Years' War, the possession of this valley became doubly important to facilitate the communication between Spain and Austria; and the religious grievances of the inhabitants seemed to the Spanish Court to offer a favourable opportunity for seizing it. The natives of the Valtellina, mostly Catholics, bore with impatience the sway of the Protestant Grisons, and stimulated by the Spanish Governor of Milan, they rose against their masters, seized the towns of Tirano, Teglio, and Sondrio, massacred all the Protestants they could lay

The
Spaniards
occupy the
Valtellina.

hands on, and called in the Spaniards to defend them from the vengeance of the Grisons (July, 1620). The Spaniards now occupied all the strong places in the valley; and although the Grisons appealed to Bern and Zürich for help, yet they were unable to regain the revolted valley, as the Catholic Forest Cantons sided with the Valtellinese.

The French were already beginning to repent of their policy in Germany, and of the treaty of Ulm, which had enabled Maximilian to march into Bohemia, and Spinola into the Palatinate. When it was too late, Sully's brother, M. de Béthune, one of Louis XIII.'s envoys, represented to his Court the necessity for saving the Palatinate; and Louis was obliged to content himself with making some representations to Ferdinand II. in favour of the Palatine, renewing the alliance with the Dutch provinces, and despatching Bassompierre to Madrid to require the evacuation of the Valtellina. These negotiations were interrupted by the death of Philip III., March 31st, 1621, close on the age of forty-three.

Death of
Philip III.

The new King, Philip IV., who was close on sixteen years of age at his accession, began his reign by dismissing his father's minister, the Duke of Uzeda, and substituting for him Don Gaspar de Guzman, Count of Olivarez, who had previously been his favourite, and who continued to govern him, as Lerma had Philip III. The first measures of the new reign were peaceable. Spain, intent upon the English marriage, seemed inclined to join England in settling the affairs of the Palatinate, and to conciliate the French with regard to the Valtellina, the seizure of which had, indeed, been disapproved of by Philip III.; and a treaty for the restitution of that valley, which, however, it does not appear to have been the intention of the Spanish Court to fulfil, was signed at Madrid, April 25th, 1621. This treaty had been mediated by the Pope, now Gregory XV. Paul V. had died in the preceding January, and Gregory (Cardinal Ludovisio) was elected February 9th. He was a native of Bologna; a small man, of placid and phlegmatic temper, and a skilful negotiator, but was governed by a brilliant nephew, Ludovico Ludovisio, a zealot for the Church.¹

Accession
of Philip
IV.

Louis XIII. was at this time meditating an expedition

¹ Ranke, *Popes*, vol. ii. p. 202.

Louis XIII.
and the
Huguenots.

against La Rochelle, where the Huguenots, headed by Rohan, were in a state of revolt. Luynes, though utterly unversed in military affairs, was to conduct the enterprise, and at the moment of its commencement received the sword of Constable (April 3rd, 1621). The campaign was at first conducted with some success; but the Royal army was badly led and managed; it failed in the siege of Montauban; and the ultra-Catholic party loudly accused Luynes not only of incompetence, but even of treason. To efface this disaster, the Constable laid siege to Monheur, a little town on the Garonne, which he was sure of taking, and which surrendered December 12th; but two days after, while it was still being plundered and in flames, Luynes died of fever, regretted by nobody, not even by the King.

Peace of
Mont-
pellier.

The war with the Huguenots¹ was concluded by the peace of Montpellier, October 19th, 1622. The Huguenots suffered much by this ill-advised revolt; the only strong places which they succeeded in retaining were Montauban and La Rochelle. Rohan, besides other leaders, asked the King's pardon in his camp; but he received 200,000 livres down, besides large promises, and the governments of Nîmes and Uzès. After the death of Luynes, the veteran commander Lesdiguières renounced the Calvinist faith for that of Rome, and was rewarded with the sword of Constable. In September Richelieu received from the King's own hands a Cardinal's hat, which had been procured for him through the influence of Mary de' Medici.

Cardinal
Richelieu
becomes
minister.

The time was now approaching when that prelate, who still remained in the service of the Queen-Mother, was to assume the direction of the French counsels. The existing ministry had become exceedingly unpopular. In May, 1623, the Parliament of Paris sent a deputation to the King at Fontainebleau, to complain that mal-administration was the cause of all the misery of France. The Marquis de la Vieuville, sensible of his own incompetence, cast his eyes on Richelieu, with whose abilities he was well acquainted, and he imagined he might use them for his own service, without intrusting him with the whole direction of affairs. Louis XIII. had a prejudice against the Cardinal, and La Vieuville thought it might be possible to make him the head of an extraordinary

¹ It is very fully related by Bassompierre, t. ii.

council for foreign affairs, without his enjoying the privilege of approaching the King's person. La Vieuville had made a wrong estimate of his tool. Richelieu had no objection to be minister, but he was resolved to be prime minister. He feigned the greatest reluctance to accept place, though it had been the object of his ambition through life; he raised all sorts of difficulties and objections; he pleaded ill-health; he made his acceptance of office a favour; and, seeing that he was indispensable, he prescribed his own terms. On the 4th of May, 1624, Richelieu, for the second time, took his seat at the council board, which he was henceforth to retain for life. He was now in his thirty-ninth year. His appearance and address were striking and imposing. His complexion was pale, his hair black and flowing; his eyes, though large, were lively and penetrating, and their effect was heightened by strongly marked brows. His forehead was high, his nose aquiline; his well-chiselled mouth was surmounted with a moustache, while a small pointed beard completed the oval of his countenance. His features wore an expression of severity; his discourse wonderfully lucid, though without much charm or attraction.

Richelieu lost no time in casting La Vieuville, his pseudo-patron, from the ministry, whose disgrace was effected in about three months. On the 12th of August La Vieuville was arrested at the breaking up of the Council, and committed to the Castle of Amboise, on a charge of malversation. No further steps were taken against him, and when it was thought that he was sufficiently harmless he was suffered to escape. Richelieu's reign—for he it was who governed the destinies of France—may now be said to have begun, although the Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld continued to be the nominal President of the Council.¹

Fall of La
Vieuville.

Richelieu had formed a grand scheme of foreign policy, which may be briefly characterized as a revival of that of Henry IV. and Sully. His Spanish policy had probably never been sincere; and he is said, when quite a youth, to have drawn up a very able and elaborate plan for the abasement of the House of Austria. After his accession to the ministry, hatred and fear of Spain were visible in all his

Richelieu's
policy.

¹ It was not till November, 1629, that Richelieu was *officially* declared prime minister. Capetigue, t. iv. p. 45, note.

actions. The suspicion that Spain was aiming at a universal monarchy had been increased after Philip III.'s death by the addition to the Spanish arms of a globe surmounted with a cross.¹ With these views, Richelieu naturally sided with the enemies of the House of Austria, and courted the Protestants of Germany, England, and Holland, although he persecuted those of France; a contradiction more glaring in the Cardinal, a high churchman, than in Henry IV. and his Huguenot minister.

The English
marriage.

Richelieu's first measures were, the renewal of the Dutch alliance; the conclusion of a treaty with England, fortified by a marriage between Charles, Prince of Wales, and Henrietta, youngest sister of Louis XIII.; and a vigorous interposition in the affair of the Valtellina. Scarcely was Richelieu seated in the ministry when a special embassy arrived from the Dutch Provinces to request help against the House of Austria; and the Cardinal, in spite of the opposition of his colleagues, concluded at Compiègne a treaty with that Republic, June 20th, 1624, by which some commercial and other advantages were secured to France.² The negotiations for the English marriage had begun before Richelieu's accession to office. The journey of the Prince of Wales and Buckingham to Spain early in 1623; the insolence of Buckingham; and the final breaking off of the Spanish match, if, indeed, it had ever been seriously contemplated by the Court of Spain, are well known. In the negotiations with France La Vieuville had led the English ambassadors, Lords Carlisle and Holland, to expect that no difficulty would be experienced on the score of religion; and they were therefore much surprised to find that on this head more rigid conditions were insisted on than had been required by the bigoted Court of Spain; the number of ecclesiastics who were to attend Henrietta into England was increased; and, while by the Spanish contract the children of the marriage were to be educated by their mother in the Catholic faith only till the age of ten, Richelieu prolonged the term till their thirteenth year.³ The marriage contracts were

¹ *Mercure Franç.* t. x. p. 94. Richelieu even opposed the King of Spain's vainglorious assumption of titles, and instructed M. de Béthune to move the Pope not to sanction that of Emperor of the Indies. Capefigue, *Richelieu*, t. iii. p. 324.

² Dumont, t. v. pt. ii. p. 461.

³ Cf. Rushworth, pt. i. pp. 88 and 152; Dumont, t. v. pt. ii. p. 476.

completed in November, 1624. Richelieu brought the Pope to grant a dispensation for the union, partly by threats and partly by the inducement of a secret engagement in favour of the English Catholics. But though Richelieu warmly advocated this marriage, and entertained the same views as the English Cabinet with regard to Germany, he was not yet prepared for open interference in the affairs of that country, but had resolved to confine himself to granting secret subsidies, and conniving at French subjects entering the service of German Protestant Princes. His policy at this moment embraced four principal objects: to incite the English to recover the Palatinate for Frederick; to help the Dutch in defending Breda against Spinola; to make an attack upon Genoa, the faithful ally of Spain; and to liberate the Valtellina, now held by the Pope in favour of the Spanish Court. By this last stroke, and by the capture of Genoa, he intended to cut off the communication between Spain and Austria; by the restoration of the Palatine he would disturb the communications between Austria and the Spanish Netherlands; and by assisting the defence of Breda he would find employment for Spinola's arms. But, what was the most difficult part of his policy, he wished to effect all these things without provoking a declaration of war on the part of Spain, and without absolutely renouncing the engagements which France had entered into with the Duke of Bavaria.

With regard to the Palatinate, it had been agreed with the English ministers that Count Mansfeld should be employed; he was to raise an army in England, and France was to advance six months' pay. Buckingham seems also to have received a promise that Mansfeld should be permitted to march through France with his army. Christian IV. of Denmark, who was now beginning to take a part in the affairs of Germany, was also to be subsidized. Mansfeld, when on his way into England, was received at Paris with the most marked distinction, but, when, in the winter of 1624, he appeared before Calais with a fleet containing 12,000 English troops, he was refused permission to land. The Marquis of Effiat, the French ambassador, and Brienne, then employed in England about the marriage, struck with surprise at this breach of faith on the part of their government, repaired to Buckingham to explain and apologize; and the English minister, who had been completely outwitted, having no

The
Palatinate
question.

formal agreement to appeal to, was forced to content himself with a few excuses, and some vague promises of future help. The English fleet, after some weeks had been wasted in fruitless negotiations for permission to land the troops, sailed off to Zealand, where it met with no better success; and two-thirds of the army were carried off by a contagious disorder arising from the detention.

Richelieu's
Italian
policy.

Richelieu's Italian policy was more open and decisive, but yet coloured with such plausible pretences as might prevent Spain from having any *casus belli*. In October, 1622, the Archduke Leopold had repressed a rising of the Grisons against the treaty imposed on them, and had subdued the greater part of one of the Three Leagues. Venice and the Duke of Savoy were even more vitally interested than France in this state of things; and in February, 1623, an alliance had been concluded between these three powers in order to take the Valtellina from the House of Austria. To avert the blow, Spain had proposed to place the fortresses of the valley in the hands of the Pope, who was in fact acting in concert with that Power, till the question should be decided; and in May the Valtellina was occupied by 2,000 Pontifical troops. At the same time, however, the Austrians continued to keep their hold upon the Grisons; and La Vieuville, who then directed the councils of France, had tamely submitted to this temporizing policy.

Accession
of Pope
Urban
VIII.

Shortly after this transaction Pope Gregory XV. died, July 8th, 1623; and was succeeded by Cardinal Maffeo Barberini, a Florentine, who assumed the title of Urban VIII. Barberini, then aged fifty-five, was a vain man, with a high opinion of his own abilities; hence he seldom convened a Consistory; and when an argument was once advanced against him from the old Papal constitutions, he replied that the opinion of a living Pope was worth more than the maxims of a hundred dead ones. He wished to be regarded as a temporal Prince; he studied fortification, read the newest poems; nay, professed to be himself a disciple of the Muses, and turned some of the Psalms into Horatian metre! It was this Pope who made Civit  Vecchia a free port; and the consequence was that the Barbary corsairs sold there the plunder of the Christians.¹

¹ Ranke, *Popes*, vol. ii. p. 265.

Such was the man with whom Richelieu had to deal respecting the Valtellina. He determined to call on Venice and Savoy to act on the treaty of 1623 and on the Papacy to evacuate the Valtellina, and lest the ambassador, the Archbishop of Lyons, who was aspiring to the cardinalate, should play false, M. de Béthune, a Calvinist, was sent to supersede him.¹ For the attack on Genoa, which would not only engage the attention of the Spanish troops in the Milanese, but also stop the supplies of money furnished to Spain by that Republic,² France pleaded that she was bound to assist her ancient ally, the Duke of Savoy, in his quarrel with Genoa respecting the fief of Zucarello; but though Richelieu asserted, and pretends in his Memoirs, that this was a lawful cause of war, Girolamo Priuli, the Venetian ambassador, at a conference at Susa, rejected the scheme with indignation, as both unjust and impolitic.³ Richelieu, however, steadily pursued the plans he had formed for the liberation of the Valtellina, in justification of which the alliance with the Grisons was also appealed to; and it was alleged that France, in helping them against their rebellious subjects, afforded neither Spain nor any other power a reasonable cause of offence. An attack upon the Papal troops did not inspire the Cardinal with any scruples: it was as often his method to plead the reason of state with the Pontiff, as to weigh the respect and forbearance due to the Holy See. Already in June, 1624, the Marquis of Cœuvres had been sent into Switzerland, and succeeded in arming the Calvinist Cantons in favour of the Grisons. The ambassadorial functions of Cœuvres were suddenly converted into those of a general; 4,000 Swiss and Grisons were joined by 3,000 French infantry and 500 horse; in November he received from M. de Béthune at Rome the concerted signal, entered the Valtellina, and soon drove out the Papal troops; whose captured standards were returned with marks of great respect to the Pontiff. Loud was the outcry, not only at Rome and Madrid, but even amongst the ultra-Catholics in France, against the "State Cardinal." The Pope, however, who feared Richelieu as much as he hated him, was less noisy than his partisans; and,

The French
seize the
Valtellina.

¹ Anquetil, *Intrigue du Cabinet*, t. ii. p. 201.

² The Genoese acted as the bankers of Spain, for which they were always in advance. *Mercuré Franç.* t. x. p. 24.

³ Sismondi, t. xv. p. 476.

instead of the censures with which the Cardinal had been threatened, it was precisely at this time that the dispensation arrived for the English marriage.

Huguenot
insurrec-
tion.

The expedition against Genoa was interrupted by a Huguenot insurrection. The French government had not faithfully fulfilled the treaty of Montpellier. Fort Louis, near La Rochelle, instead of being demolished had been strengthened; Rohan, yielding to the impulse of the inhabitants, made advances to the Spanish ambassador, and a monstrous agreement was effected, by which the Huguenots received the money of Spain, just as France helped the Dutch.¹ In January, 1625, Rohan's brother, Soubise, seized the Isle of Ré, and, surprising the French fleet in the roads of Blavet in Brittany, carried off four vessels. The revolt gradually spread into Upper Languedoc, Querci, and the Cevennes. Nevertheless the old Constable Lesdiguières, and Duke Charles Emmanuel, invaded Liguria in March with 28,000 men, and most of the places in it were captured. Lesdiguières, however, declined to attempt Genoa itself without the assistance of a fleet; the ships furnished according to treaty by the Dutch being required against the French rebels. It is probable that the Constable acted according to secret instructions from Richelieu, who wished not to see Genoa fall into the hands of the Duke of Savoy, and was only intent on diverting the Spaniards from the Valtellina.² An Austrian army passing through the Swiss Catholic Cantons and over the St. Gothard, compelled the French and Piedmontese to evacuate Liguria, and even assumed the offensive against Piedmont and the Valtellina; which, however, with the exception of Riva, the French succeeded in retaining.

Marriage of
Charles I.
and Hen-
rietta.

It was in the midst of these affairs that the marriage of Charles and Henrietta was completed. The unexpected death of James I. after a short illness, March 27th, 1625, compelled the royal bridegroom to celebrate his nuptials by proxy; which were solemnized, May 11th, by the Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld, on a scaffold erected before the western portal of Notre-Dame, with the same ceremonies as had been observed at the marriage of Henry IV. and Margaret of Valois. The English King was represented by the Duke of

¹ Ranke, *Französische Gesch.* B. ii. S. 285.

² See a *Letter* from Marshal Créquy to Louis XIII., quoted by Le Jay, *Hist. du Ministère du Cardinal de Richelieu*, t. i. p. 54, note.

Chevreuse. Buckingham afterwards arrived in Paris for the purpose of escorting Queen Henrietta-Maria into England; when that vain favourite inspired many with astonishment and admiration at his magnificence, a few with disgust and aversion at his conduct.

The English alliance was useful to France in the Huguenot rebellion. The Cardinal, relying on the warmth of a new connection, succeeded in obtaining the loan of some English vessels, but without their crews; for the English¹ sailors, almost to a man, refused to serve against the Huguenots, and it was not deemed expedient to treat them like the Dutch, on board of each of whose vessels the Cardinal insisted on putting a hundred French soldiers, in order to prevent any treachery on the part of the sailors. Soubise was now attacked in the Isle of Ré; and on the 15th of September, 1625, he was completely defeated; on shore by Toiras, at sea by Montmorenci. Soubise succeeded in escaping to England with two or three ships which he had saved; and his cause was so popular in that country that the government could not refuse him shelter. Here he employed himself in making interest with the parliamentary leaders; and Buckingham, to whom the loan of the English vessels was imputed as a crime, found himself compelled to demand them back.

Richelieu
borrows
English
vessels.

The misunderstanding between the two Courts had been increased by complaints of ill treatment made by Queen Henrietta and her attendants; whose grievances had begun before they landed on the shores of England. As a mark of respect, some of the largest vessels in the English navy had been sent to Boulogne to convey the Queen and her suite to Dover; and the French officers complained that they had been compelled to embark and disembark in boats! When the Queen had landed at Dover, June 24th, 1625, she was lodged in the Castle, which was said to be badly furnished; and when Charles visited her on the following day, he came ill attended, and without a shadow of the grandeur which distinguished

Henrietta's
reception
in England.

¹ Martin, indeed, asserts the contrary: "Les huit vaisseaux, promis par Jacques 1^{er}, avaient enfin été envoyés par son successeur et garnis de soldats Français, au grand dépit du peuple et surtout des matelots Anglais. . . . Les marins Anglais de la flotte royale ne manœvrèrent que l'épée sur la gorge," etc.—*Hist. de France*, t. xi. p. 220 sq. But this statement is totally unfounded. The only Englishman who consented to serve was a gunner. See the Articles preferred against Buckingham in Rushworth's *Collections*, pt. i. p. 332.

the King of France. The priests were put under arrest on the evening of their arrival, and were released only at the Queen's earnest entreaty. On the journey to London Henrietta was separated from her ladies; and could at last obtain a place for one of them in her carriage only through the intercession of the French ambassador. The reception in London was equally disagreeable. That many of these grievances were imaginary and exaggerated appears from the testimony of Brienne, who accompanied Henrietta to England. Dover Castle, he says, had been fitted up with the royal furniture, and a magnificent supper was given there. He makes no mention of the imprisonment of the Catholic priests; and though he relates that some English ladies were put into the Queen's carriage, he is silent about her tears. This, indeed, was only a usual practice at all Courts, and the French themselves had pursued the same course with Anne of Austria. If Henrietta was received with less than usual state at London, it was because the plague had broken out in that capital.¹

Ill-feeling
between
France and
England.

Some more tangible grievances threatened to produce an open rupture between the French and English Courts. Buckingham, to conciliate the Parliament, then sitting at Oxford, neglected to observe the engagements he had secretly entered into with the French cabinet in favour of the English Catholics; and he offered to dismiss all the Queen's French attendants. But the Parliament was of opinion that the promises made to the French King should be observed; and that the authors of them should be punished if they contained anything contrary to the laws. Blainville, who had come to London on an extraordinary embassy respecting these matters, was treated with studied indignity. Buckingham, besides refusing to restore the ships which Soubise had carried into Portsmouth, and which Richelieu charged him with having stolen, went to the Hague, and, without consulting the French ambassador, concluded a treaty with the Dutch and with Denmark. While in Holland he expressed a wish to go into France; but the French ambassador having refused him a passport till he should have given Louis XIII. some satisfaction, Buckingham, out of revenge,

¹ See Brienne, *Mémoires*, t. i. p. 407 sqq. Compare Charles I.'s account of these matters in his Instructions to Sir D. Carlton (Harris, *Lives of the Stuarts*, vol. ii. p. 24).

induced the Dutch to recall their ships. The English fleet, returning from an unsuccessful expedition to Cadiz, fell in with and captured several French vessels, on the ground of their having Spanish goods on board; and the ships were carried into English ports and sold under the very eyes of Blainville. Reprisals were in consequence made on English ships in French harbours.¹ Richelieu, however, had no wish to break with England; he rightly attributed the conduct of the English Court to Buckingham's caprices; to his desire to make the Queen renounce her faith, in order that he might acquire with the Parliament the reputation of a zealous Protestant; as well as to his wish to foment an ill understanding between Henrietta and Charles, and thus prevent her acquiring too much influence over her husband.² Richelieu therefore determined to conciliate the capricious, but all-powerful Buckingham. Bautrec, a man of wit and talent, was despatched into England; the Duke was assured that he would be very well received in France; the refusal of his passports in Holland was explained to be a mistake; above all it was represented that the Duchess of Chevreuse, with whom and her husband he had kept up a correspondence, which Richelieu denounced to Louis as traitorous, would be obliged to quit the Court if matters did not mend. Bautrec completely succeeded in his mission, and brought back with him to Paris, as extraordinary ambassadors, Lord Holland and Sir Dudley Carlton. This turn of affairs very much helped the Cardinal in making a peace with the Huguenots; which, though reprobated by the high Catholic party in France, and by the Pope's Nuncio Cardinal Spada, was necessary to Richelieu's foreign policy. To Spada he observed: "I know that I am regarded as a heretic at Rome; but ere long the Pope will canonize me as a saint."³ Richelieu had already conceived the plan of destroying La Rochelle, but it was not yet ripe for execution; and with that extraordinary talent he possessed for making everybody serve his purposes, he effected a peace with the Huguenots chiefly by means of the English ambassadors.⁴ A treaty was signed at

¹ *Mercure Franç.* t. xi. p. 1052; t. xii. p. 259.

² Richelieu, *Mémoires*, liv. xvi. : cf. Clarendon, *Rebellion*, vol. i.; *Merc. Franç.* t. xii. p. 260.

³ Fontenai-Mareuil, t. ii. p. 29.

⁴ It appeared from an intercepted letter from Rohan to Soubise,

Paris February 5th, 1626, under the tacit guarantee of England, by which the Huguenots were left in much the same condition as at the beginning of the war.

English
expedition
to Cadiz.

The English expedition against Cadiz, was undertaken in consequence of the breach with Spain in regard to the marriage treaty. In 1625, a fleet and army were despatched, under Viscount Wimbledon, to take Cadiz; but Wimbledon lost so much time in fortifying Puntal, that the Spaniards found an opportunity to throw reinforcements into Cadiz. The quarrels of Charles I. with his Parliament, and the difficulty he experienced in obtaining supplies, were not calculated to render him a very formidable opponent in any foreign war; and he, in common with the other allies of France, was, soon after this expedition, astonished and discouraged by an unexpected peace between that country and Spain.

Treaty of
Monçon.

After the French successes in the Valtellina, Urban VIII. had despatched his nephew, Cardinal Barberini, as Legate to Paris, where he arrived May 21st, 1625, and was received with the magnificence due to his quality. Barberini was authorized by the Spanish cabinet, as well as by the Pope, to treat for peace, and he made the following propositions: a suspension of arms; satisfaction to the Pope for what had occurred in the Valtellina; and security for the maintenance of the Catholic religion in that valley, by preventing its restoration to the Grisons. The negotiations failed, chiefly on the third condition; yet Richelieu, as we have already remarked, was very unwilling to embark in an open war with Spain. The more zealous French Catholics were scandalized at his policy in attacking the troops of the Pope, in marrying the King's sister to a Protestant King, in summoning the Swedes to restore a heretic Prince in the Palatinate; and this sentiment was so strong among the sovereign courts and municipal bodies, as to cause the Cardinal to fear that he might soon have to struggle with another Catholic League, as well as with the Huguenots. It was chiefly to relieve himself of his fears and responsibility, that, after the departure of the Legate Barberini, Richelieu advised the King to summon an Assembly of Notables at Fontainebleau. In this

that the Huguenots were chiefly induced to submit by a threat of the English ambassadors to abandon them if they declined. Richelieu, *Mémoires*, liv. xvii.

assembly Richelieu spoke in favour of peace, but of such a peace as might be concluded on honourable and advantageous conditions; and he was supported by a great majority, although the Cardinal de Sourdis was for an immediate suspension of arms. Spain appeared to have become more moderate; especially as in the winter Marshal Bassompierre succeeded in obtaining a fresh declaration of the Swiss Diet in favour of the Grisons; and after the departure of Barberini, the Spanish Court renewed the negotiations through the Marquis of Mirabel, their ambassador at Paris, and also made advances to Count du Fargis, the French ambassador at Madrid. Richelieu's instructions to Du Fargis had been purposely vague; and that minister, hearing that the Pope was about to send 6,000 men into the Valtellina, had somewhat precipitately signed a treaty with Spain, January 1st, 1626. Most of the conditions desired by France had been obtained; yet Richelieu disavowed the treaty, founding his objections chiefly on matters of form; though his real motive was probably his fear that the allies of France would get scent of it before his arrangements with the Huguenots were completed. At all events, soon after the peace with the insurgents, Du Fargis concluded a fresh treaty with Olivarez at Monçon, in Aragon, March 5th; which, in spite of Richelieu's pretended opposition, was, with a few amendments, ratified at Barcelona a month afterwards.¹ The principal articles of the so-called treaty of Monçon were: that the affairs of the Grisons and the Valtellinese should be replaced in the same state as they were in at the beginning of 1617; that no other religion but the Roman Catholic should be tolerated in the valley; that the Valtellinese should have the right of electing their magistrates, subject, however, to the approval of the Grisons; that the forts in the Valtellina, as well as in the bailiwick of Bormio and district of Chiavenna, should be razed by the Pope; and, in consideration of the privileges granted to them, the Valtellinese were to pay to the Grisons such an annual sum as might be agreed on.²

The news of this treaty was received with equal surprise and indignation at London, Venice, Turin, and among the

Reception
of the
Treaty.

¹ Richelieu even pretends to express his dissatisfaction at it in his *Testament Politique*, ch. i.

² Dumont, t. v. pt. ii. p. 487. The sum agreed on was 25,000 crowns.

Grisons. The allies of France had all been duped; and each found in it some particular cause of complaint. The rights and interests of the Grisons had been bartered away without their consent; the Swiss were offended at the part they had been made to play in the affair; the Venetians thought themselves wronged by the demolition of the forts, which they deemed necessary to secure their right of way; the Duke of Savoy saw all his hopes frustrated, and himself insulted to boot by a pretended commission to his son, the Prince of Piedmont, to be the Lieutenant-General of Louis in Italy at the very time of the conclusion of the treaty. The Dutch and the English, and especially the latter, had no less reason to complain. France had amused them with a pretended league, merely for the purpose of procuring better terms from the Huguenots and from Spain; and the English ambassadors had actually been made the tools for arranging a peace with the former.

Dexterity of
Richelieu.

Richelieu's next task was to pacify his angry allies, in which he perfectly succeeded. The Duke of Savoy was flattered with the prospect of obtaining the title of King through the influence of France; the Grisons and Venetians were mollified with compliments and excuses; the English ambassadors were assured that France, whose hands were now free, would act with more vigour than ever in the affair of the Palatinate, and that a French army of 11,000 or 12,000 men should join the English forces on the Rhine. At the same time the Cardinal dropped all complaints about Queen Henrietta and the marriage treaty. Thus Richelieu gained his point, but at some cost to his reputation.¹

Conspiracy
against
Richelieu.

These events were followed by a conspiracy against Richelieu. The ostensible object of the plot was to prevent a marriage which had been arranged between Gaston, Duke of Anjou, the King's brother, commonly called Monsieur, and Mademoiselle de Montpensier; but it included the murder of Richelieu, and probably the deposition of Louis XIII., and a marriage between Gaston and Anne of Austria. The principal leaders of this conspiracy were the Marshal d'Ornano,

¹ Martin (*Hist. de France*, t. xi. p. 229, note) has undertaken against Sismondi the defence of Richelieu in this matter. The gist of his argument is that the Cardinal's conduct was justified by the manners of the period, and that he was no worse than his brother diplomatists.

who had been Gaston's governor, the Duke of Vendôme and his brother the Grand-Prior, the Dukes of Longueville and Epemon, and several more of the malcontent nobles. Even Anne of Austria took part in it. The plot was frustrated by the coolness and vigilance of Richelieu; who succeeded in completely overawing Gaston, and compelling him to perform the marriage (August 6th, 1626); after which he assumed the title of Duke of Orleans, which had belonged to his elder brother, dead some years ago. The King also distinguished himself by the skill with which he personally effected the arrests of Ornano and Vendôme, as he had formerly done in the case of Condé. Such an employment had something very captivating for the mind of Louis XIII. It had in it something analogous to his field sports, and afforded the same sort of excitement that he felt in capturing his game. Indeed, he had himself become a King as it were by stratagem. Nothing could exceed the cool and imperturbable dissimulation with which he watched for the favourable moment, and secured his unsuspecting victim.

Richelieu thus triumphed over his domestic enemies, as he had over the enemies, or rather the allies, of France. Yet even this consummate politician had his weak point. The strong-willed and sagacious minister was a believer in judicial astrology; and it is said that he did not decide upon Gaston's marriage till he had caused that Prince's horoscope to be drawn.¹ Of the conspirators, one, the Count of Chalais, was beheaded, others were imprisoned, some were pardoned. Ornano died in confinement, September 2nd, and thus escaped a trial. Anne of Austria herself was summoned before her offended consort in full council, when, with a bitter smile, Louis reproached her with wanting another husband. Anne never forgot nor forgave this disagreeable scene, which she imputed entirely to the contrivance of Richelieu.²

Richelieu's
victory.

The most important result of this conspiracy was, that it enabled Richelieu to make some salutary reforms. During the investigations respecting it the Court had proceeded to Nantes, and while he was at that city Louis published two

Richelieu
obtains the
Admiralty.

¹ *Vie du Père Josef* in the *Archives Curieuses* (t. iv. p. 191, 2^{de} sér.). Richelieu's belief in astrology peeps out in too many places of his writings to render the story improbable.

² *Mém. de Mad. de Motteville* (Petitot, t. xxxvi. p. 353); Richelieu, *Mém.* liv. xvii.

important edicts. By one of these the office of Admiral of Brittany, which had been held by the Duke of Vendôme, as Governor of that province, was suppressed; by the other, it was ordered that all castles, fortresses, and strong places throughout the Kingdom, not on the frontiers, or otherwise necessary to its defence, should be razed (July 31st, 1626). This measure, part of Richelieu's plan to weaken the nobility, was hailed with joy throughout France. It was the last blow dealt to anarchy and feudal tyranny. In carrying it out, all useless devastation was avoided. Everything capable of resisting cannon was demolished; but the old town walls of the middle ages, as well as the donjons of the nobles, were preserved. A little after, the two great offices of Constable and Admiral of France were suppressed; the Duke of Lesdiguières, the last Constable, having died in September, 1626, no fresh appointment was made. In the following month the Duke of Montmorenci was bought out of the Admiralty; when Richelieu, without the title or office of Admiral, was appointed head and general superintendent of the French marine, navigation, and commerce.¹ Buckingham laughed at the Cardinal's assumption of this post, and called him "a freshwater Admiral;"² but Richelieu was soon to show his competence to direct the commercial, as well as the military duties involved. He endeavoured to direct the national genius of France to colonization and commerce, in emulation of Spain, England, and Holland; and he planned the creation of a formidable navy to protect the trade, which he intended to call into existence. The Company of Morbihan, to trade with the two Indies, was established, and it is no fault of Richelieu's if these projects did not meet with the success which he anticipated.

While these things were going on in France, the aspect of affairs between the French and English Courts was daily growing more threatening. After the peace of Monçon, the English ambassadors quitted Paris; and upon their arrival in London, Blainville also departed for France. The misunderstanding between Charles I. and his Queen, fomented by the intriguing priests by whom she was surrounded, as well as by Buckingham's ill humour with the French Court, grew daily worse, and, in spite of the Queen's tears and

¹ *Mercure Franç.* t. xiii. p. 359.

² Montglat, t. i. p. 41.

entreaties, not only were her priests, but even her French domestics, sent back into France. The meddling behaviour of the French priests and others who had accompanied Queen Henrietta, and especially of the Sieur de Bérulle and the Bishop of Mende, is admitted by Richelieu himself, as well as by Bassompierre, who was sent as special ambassador to London on the occasion of this quarrel;¹ and as France was not then in a condition to cope with England on the sea, the Cardinal was willing to compromise the matter. After some negotiation, it was arranged that the Queen should be allowed to have twelve priests, besides a bishop for her almoner; and to select some French officers for her service, as well as two French ladies and two French maids for her chamber. The Cardinal, however, was but ill content with this treaty, especially as the English continued to seize French vessels under the very nose of Bassompierre; and though Richelieu was not in a condition to declare open war, he secretly joined Spain in an enterprise which Philip IV. and his ministers were contemplating against England. In the spring of 1627 a treaty was concluded between France and Spain, by which Richelieu agreed to contribute ten ships to be employed in any descent upon Great Britain which might be attempted before June, 1628. But this treaty had no result. England took the initiative by interdicting all commerce with France (April 28th, 1627); and during three months the English harbours resounded with the din of hostile preparation. The destination of the English fleet was not known, but was suspected to be La Rochelle. Soubise and a French abbé, a creature of the Duke of Orleans, were in England inciting the Court to succour and protect the Huguenots;² an agent had been despatched to the Duke of Rohan, to engage him to raise that party in the south of France; and Montague had been sent to the Duke of Lorraine and Duke of Savoy, whose discontent, it was thought, might incite them to take up arms against France.

Towards the end of June Buckingham left Portsmouth with a fleet of eighty vessels, ten of which belonged to the royal navy, having on board an army of 6,000 or 7,000 men; and on the 20th of July he cast anchor off the Isle of Ré,

Buckingham's expedition to Ré.

¹ Richelieu, *Mémoires*, liv. xx. (Petitot, t. xxv. pp. 63 and 75); Bassompierre, *Mém.* t. iii. p. 87 sqq.

² Rushworth's *Collections*, pt. i. p. 423 sq.

which lies at the mouth of the inlet, or channel, leading up to La Rochelle. On the following day he published a manifesto detailing the grounds for this invasion: the principal of which were, the neglect of the French government to raze the fort of St. Louis, which, by the treaty of Montpellier, they had agreed to do; and their having constructed new forts in the Isle of Ré to overawe the Rochellois in contravention of a treaty which England had guaranteed.¹

Action of
Richelieu.

Richelieu's answer to this manifesto must be allowed, on the face of it, to be successful. He showed that the English Court, so far from having publicly manifested any sympathy for the Huguenots, had not even mentioned them in the marriage treaty, although France had stipulated for the relief of the English Catholics;² and he triumphantly alluded to the fact, that Louis XIII. had employed the vessels of England against the Huguenots with the entire consent of the English Court. He denied that England had intervened in the treaty which the King of France had compelled his rebellious subjects to accept: and it must be admitted that such intervention had not been recognized in any public manner; though it cannot be doubted that Sir D. Carlton and Lord Holland had been very instrumental in bringing about the peace, and had led the Rochellois to suppose that England was to guarantee it. This seems to have been the public impression even in France;³ though it would appear that the only foundation for the supposed guarantee was some words addressed by the French chancellor to the Huguenot deputies when they were suing for peace: the meaning assigned to which words Richelieu disavowed. It is certain that the name of England appears not in the treaty; and Richelieu even asserts, in his answer to Buckingham's manifesto, that, to prevent any pretence of interference on the part of England, the English ambassadors were repeatedly told that, though their good offices with the Huguenots would be accepted, their intervention could not be allowed.⁴ The other main prop of Buckingham's manifesto, the non-demoli-

¹ *Mercure Franç.* t. xiii. p. 803 sqq.

² In a secret article signed by James I. See the answer put in by the French Court during Bassompierre's negotiations, in the *Mercure Franç.* t. xiii. It is remarkable for vigour of language, and was probably from the pen of Richelieu himself.

³ *Mém. de Brienne*, t. i. p. 423.

⁴ *Mercure Franç.* t. xiii. p. 825.

tion of Fort Louis, also breaks down ; for though its destruction had been agreed upon by the peace of Montpellier, yet its maintenance had been expressly stipulated by the subsequent treaty of 1626. The general charge of an ultimate intention to reduce La Rochelle, the Cardinal affected not to deny ; and he met it with the allegation that the French King had a right to make himself master of one of his own towns ; and that if he intended to attack La Rochelle, it was no business of the English.

Thus Buckingham was completely outwitted by the able Cardinal ; though it cannot be denied that, at bottom, he had some very just grounds of complaint. To his failure as a diplomatist he was now to add an equally signal one as a general. No sooner had the fleet anchored than Buckingham despatched Sir William Beecher, his secretary, accompanied by Soubise, to La Rochelle, to incite the inhabitants to arms ; who replied, that they must first consult with the rest of their party. Buckingham, nevertheless, on the evening of the 22nd July, proceeded to land his troops at the Point of Samblanceau, which operation, being covered by the guns of the fleet at point-blank range, was effected without much loss. But he now committed some fatal mistakes. Instead of at once seizing the fort of St. Martin, he lost four days in reconnoitring the country ; and when he at length marched against that place, which had meanwhile been provisioned, he left the fort of La Prée behind him, by means of which succours were thrown into the island. These Richelieu provided by extraordinary exertions, advancing large sums from his own funds, and even pledging his plate and jewels ; and he personally hastened the march of his troops. After Buckingham had thrown away his advantages and his time, Marshal Schomberg succeeded in landing a large French force in Ré in the night of November 1st. Buckingham found himself compelled to raise the siege of St. Martin, November 5th, after a general assault, which was repulsed ; and the English were followed in their retreat to the ships by the French, who inflicted on them considerable loss. Every horse in the English army was captured, including that of Buckingham ; besides forty-six colours and arms for 3,000 men. The troops, however, were safely embarked, and, after waiting for a wind, the fleet sailed for England, November 17th.

Defeat of
Buckingham.

Siege of La
Rochelle,
1628.

This unfortunate expedition was the immediate cause of the fall of La Rochelle. Richelieu had brought the King, with the French army, into Poitou; and no sooner had the English evacuated Ré, than he urged Louis vigorously to prosecute the siege of La Rochelle. The inhabitants of that place, as we have said, had not at first joined Buckingham, and on the 10th of August they even admitted into the town some of the royal troops, sent principally to ascertain the state of the fortifications. But on the 20th the Duke of Angoulême having begun to construct a fort within a quarter of a league of the city, the Rochellois opened fire on his troops, and followed up this step by a declaration of war. In October Louis took up his head-quarters at Estré, a village not far from La Rochelle. Little could be done while the English held possession of Ré; but no sooner were they gone than Richelieu resolved to execute that scheme for the reduction of the Huguenot stronghold which he had brooded over so many years. The dike across the inlet, by which all succour from the sea was cut off, and the Rochellois thus finally reduced through hunger, was planned by Richelieu, and built under his inspection. Indeed the whole glory of the enterprise belongs to the Cardinal; for Louis XIII., wearied with the tedium of a blockade, which afforded little excitement, left the army in February (1628) to hunt at Versailles, appointing Richelieu Lieutenant-General of all his forces in Poitou, Saintonge, Angoumois and Aunis;¹ and Angoulême, Schomberg, Bassompierre and the other captains were enjoined to obey him as they would the King himself. Richelieu had all the qualities of a great general, and, had not his genius been diverted into another channel, it may be safely affirmed that he would have become a renowned commander instead of a consummate minister and statesman. The fall of La Rochelle, hermetically sealed both on the sea and land side, was of course only a question of time. The inhabitants held out to the last extremity, animated by the exhortations and example of Jean Guiton, their mayor; who, throwing a poignard on the table of the chamber in which the town-council assembled, obtained leave to thrust it into the bosom of the first man who talked of surrender.² After an unaccountable delay, an English fleet, under command of

¹ *Mercuré Franç.* t. xiv. p. 154.

² Le Vassor, t. v. p. 690 sq.

the Earl of Denbigh, at length appeared, and attempted the relief of La Rochelle (May 11th); but on reconnoitring the dike, and finding it impregnable, Denbigh got a certificate to that effect from some captains belonging to La Rochelle, who were on board his fleet; and after cannonading at a distance the French vessels in the inlet, he sailed home. Still the town held out in expectation of fresh aid from England, and in spite of some insurrections of the starving citizens. The English succours were delayed by the assassination of Buckingham at Portsmouth (August 23rd). This event delivered Richelieu from an adversary whom he at once feared and despised.

Assassina-
tion of
Bucking-
ham.

On the 28th of September the English fleet, under command of the Earl of Lindsey, was again descried from Ré. On the 3rd of October the English fleet made an attempt to force a passage, and delivered many broadsides against the dike, as close as they could come; but they were soon compelled to retire by the ebbing tide, which on those coasts falls a great many feet. On the following day the attempt was renewed with the same result; nor did some fire-ships, launched by the English, do any harm. The case seemed hopeless; the English vessels drew too much water to come sufficiently near to deliver an effective fire, and after another general attack on the 22nd of October, the enterprise was abandoned. On the following day a deputation of the starving inhabitants of La Rochelle repaired to the Cardinal to treat for a surrender, which they were obliged to accept on his terms; and on the 30th the royal forces took possession of the town. Rushworth states that out of a population of 15,000 persons, only 4,000 remained alive, so great had been the famine;¹ but this account is probably exaggerated. Louis XIII., who had returned some months before to the siege, and who had pointed the cannon and exposed his life before the walls—for he inherited at least the courage of his father—entered the town on horseback and fully armed, November 1st. On the following Sunday a solemn *Te Deum* was sung. On the Saturday, the King, who was a great lover of sacred music, sat up till midnight, arranging and rehearsing the chanting and musical accompaniments; and he himself led off the melody.²

Surrender
of La
Rochelle.

¹ *Collections*, pt. i. p. 636.

² A contemporary writer compares him to King David, "citharam percipientem coram arca Dei." *Mercure Franç.* t. xiv. p. 619.

Effect of the
Fall of La
Rochelle.

The fall of La Rochelle, as consummating the subjection of the Huguenot party, and thus strengthening the hands of the French King, was an occurrence sufficiently important to rouse the hopes or fears of the various European States, according to their interest or politics. At Rome the event was celebrated by a *Te Deum* in the church of St. Louis, and gave occasion to Urban VIII. to exercise his poetical skill by composing some odes in honour of the French King. Richelieu's brother, now Archbishop of Lyons, was made a Cardinal, contrary to the constitution of Julius III. forbidding that dignity to be conferred on two brothers. But, in spite of the favour of the Holy See, Richelieu used his victory with moderation. In his answer to Buckingham's manifesto, he had declared with a liberality in advance of the age, and which was not observed in the next reign, that the time of religious martyrdom was past, and that Louis XIII. waged war, not with liberty of conscience, but with political rebellion. These principles he adhered to after his success; and though, as an insurgent city, La Rochelle was deprived of its municipal privileges, the citizens were allowed the free exercise of their religion.

The Sur-
render of
Breda.

During the progress of the siege a Spanish fleet had appeared off La Rochelle; but it was sent only to amuse the French with a false show of friendship, as appears from a letter of Philip IV. to his ambassador at Paris;¹ and no sooner did news arrive that the English were preparing an expedition for the relief of La Rochelle than, in spite of the remonstrances of Richelieu, the Spaniards retired. The famous captain, Spinola, had also paid a visit to the French camp in the quality of ambassador; when Louis took him round the works, and flattered the Italian by remarking that he was imitating his example at Breda. Spinola had taken that town, after a two months' siege, in June, 1625. The Spanish Court had set its heart upon the capture, and Philip IV., with a mock sublime, had written to Spinola, in half a line, "Marquis, take Breda." Prince Maurice, after a four years' struggle with Spinola, had died 23rd April, 1625, not without the mortification of seeing that Breda must at length yield to the Spanish arms; but his brother and successor, Frederick Henry of Nassau, who was elected

¹ In Capefigue, *Richelieu*, etc. ch. xlii.

Captain-General of the United Provinces, assisted by Mansfeld, whose efforts Richelieu had diverted from the Palatinate, arrested the progress of the Spaniards in the Northern Netherlands. Frederick Henry, who shared not the political ambition and the religious prejudices of his brother, was also elected as their Stadholder by the three provinces of Holland, Zealand, and West Friesland. But the operations of the Dutch in Europe are not of much importance at this period, though it witnessed the growth of their possessions in the East Indies, and the establishment of their naval power at the expense of Spain.

The struggle in Germany had now assumed a new phase by the intervention of Denmark. Christian IV. had from the first beheld the proceedings of the Emperor with alarm; as a Protestant Prince, he was disposed to support the unlucky Palatine Frederick; he had, at the instance of his brother-in-law, James I. of England,¹ advanced several large sums of money to Frederick; and so early as the beginning of 1621 had agreed upon an alliance between Denmark, England, and the Dutch Republic; negotiations, however, which had resulted only in some representations to the Emperor and a letter to Ambrose Spinola. Christian IV. had also a personal, or rather a family, interest in the great question which agitated Germany. He had procured his son Frederick to be appointed coadjutor and eventual successor of the titular lay Archbishop of Bremen, and had also purchased for him the Bishopric of Verden; and thus, in common with the other Princes of the Circle of Lower Saxony, he feared to be deprived of the ecclesiastical principalities which he had obtained. The headship of Lower Saxony had been long in the hands of the ducal Welfic House; but its various lines, Lüneburg, Wolfenbüttel, Zelle, Harburg, and Dannenberg were now at variance with one another respecting the Principality of Grubenhagen; while Frederick Ulrich, head of what is called the middle line of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, was not only a weak man, but also without the means of supporting an army. The Princes of Lower Saxony had thus begun to look towards Christian IV. for protection; who, by virtue of his Duchy of Holstein, was a member of the Empire

Interven-
tion of
Denmark.

¹ James I. had married in 1589 Anne, second daughter of Frederick II. of Denmark.

and of their own Circle, and by his prosperous reign in Denmark enjoyed at that time a high reputation in Europe. Many volunteers among the Lower Saxons had in 1623 joined Duke Christian of Brunswick, whose defeat by Gonzales de Cordova and flight into Holland in 1622 has been already described (*supra*, p. 207). Christian was a very different man from his brother Duke Frederick Ulrich, into whose dominions he had returned with his old troops. He had begun his adventures with ten dollars in his pocket, nor would he abandon them after two defeats and the loss of an arm. Christian took the command of the forces levied by the Lower Saxon volunteers, in conjunction with those which he had raised himself; but Tilly hastened towards the north, compelled the Lower Saxon Circle to expel Christian, overtook that Prince as he was retreating into East Friesland to rejoin Count Mansfeld, and entirely defeated him near Stadtlohn, in Westphalia (August 9th, 1623). The Dutch now advised Mansfeld to disband his army, and the League troops and Spaniards established themselves on the Weser.

Christian
IV. pre-
pares for
war.

Duke Christian, after his defeat, had given the King of Denmark a still further interest in the German question by transferring to that monarch his Bishopric of Halberstadt; besides which, Christian IV. had procured another see in Mecklenburg for his younger son. The menacing position taken up by the troops of the League in Westphalia rendered some decisive step necessary. Christian IV., who had assembled an army, was elected military chief of the Circle of Lower Saxony in May, 1625; and on the 18th of that month he addressed a letter to Ferdinand II., which may be regarded as a declaration of war. He announced to the Emperor his election as head of the Lower Saxon Circle; declared his determination to put an end to the quartering of troops and other burdens with which some of the Princes belonging to that Circle were oppressed, contrary to the Religious Peace and the laws of the Empire; and he reminded Ferdinand that he had neglected to fulfil his promises to himself and his ally, the King of Great Britain, with regard to the Elector Palatine. Ferdinand answered politely, postponing the consideration of the questions urged, though he went on increasing his forces; whilst Tilly, in the Emperor's name, summoned the King of Denmark to lay down

the military headship of the Circle, on the ground that it could not be intrusted to a foreign Sovereign. Meanwhile Christian IV. marched his army from the Elbe to the Weser. He had communicated to Gustavus Adolphus the steps which he intended to take, and intimated that his help would be welcome; but the Swedish King, at that time intent on an expedition into Livonia, though he received Christian's message in a friendly spirit, was not then in a position to afford him any succour. Gustavus's campaign in Poland was, however, indirectly beneficial, by preventing the Poles from fulfilling their promise to the Emperor of supporting him by an irruption into Brandenburg.

Hostilities were begun by Duke Christian of Brunswick and Count Mansfeld; who having reassembled an army of some 12,000 or 15,000 men, entered the Duchy of Cleves, encamped in the neighbourhood of Wesel, and thence proceeded into the territory of Cologne. Tilly despatched against them the Count of Anhalt, and having been himself reinforced with some Spaniards, laid siege to Höxter. Christian IV. having received some subsidies from Charles I., now King of England, had also begun his march. James I. had repented of neglecting his son-in-law, the Elector Palatine, and on his death-bed had exhorted Charles to use every endeavour to reinstate his sister and her children in their dominions.¹ But Charles, who deemed it better to seek the Palatinate in Spain, fitted out an expedition against that country, the ill-success of which has been already related; so that he could afford but little aid to his brother-in-law. In July Christian IV. had marched to Hameln, where his career was arrested by an unfortunate accident. In riding round the ramparts he fell into a vault twenty feet deep that had been negligently covered; his horse was killed on the spot, he himself lay three days insensible, and it was several weeks before he entirely recovered. The campaign went in favour of Tilly, who took Hameln and Minden, and defeated a large body of Danes near Hanover. He had appealed to the Emperor for assistance against the King of Denmark; and this was the occasion of bringing the renowned Wallenstein into the field.

Hostilities
begun.

¹ *Mém. de l'Electrice Palatine Louise Juliane*, p. 279.

Character
of Wallen-
stein.

Wallenstein, for the loyalty and valour he had displayed during the Bohemian revolt, had been rewarded by Ferdinand II. with the lordship of Friedland and other confiscated domains of the insurgent Protestant nobles, and had been raised successively to the dignities of Count of the Empire, Prince, and, a little after, Duke of Friedland. The appearance and habits of this celebrated leader were calculated to render still more remarkable his military talents and his enormous power. In person he was tall and lank; the oval of his face was strongly delineated by his black hair, brushed up from his forehead and hanging down on each side in curly locks, and by his black beard and moustache; his complexion was sallow, his nose short, but aquiline, his forehead high and commanding. His eyes were small and black, but penetrating and full of fire, and the awe they inspired was enhanced by dark eyebrows, on which hung a frown of threatening severity. The whole expression of his countenance was cold and repulsive; his demeanour haughty but dignified. With these traits his habits corresponded. Of few words and still fewer smiles, indefatigably employed in a retreat whose tranquillity was secured by sentinels planted to enjoin silence on all who approached—for even the clink of spurs was offensive to him—Wallenstein's whole appearance was calculated to throw around him a mysterious interest, increased by his known addiction to astrology.¹

He raises
an army.

At the time of Tilly's application for aid, Wallenstein, who had always been a warm supporter of the Emperor and of despotism, was a member of the Imperial Council of War; and he offered to raise at his own expense an army of 20,000 men for the Emperor, the troops to be supported by requisitions wherever they were cantoned.² His offer having been accepted, a hundred patents of colonelcies were sold by Wallenstein to the greater nobles, on condition of their providing officers and men. These colonels in turn sold patents to their captains, the captains to their subalterns, without any reference to the Imperial Government; and thus was

¹ For his character, see Hurter, *Zur Gesch. Wallensteins*, Kap. 20.

² The old story, now discredited, was that Wallenstein offered to raise 50,000 men, assigning the apparently paradoxical reason that he could maintain an army of that force, but not one of 20,000 men. Khevenhiller, t. x. p. 803.

created an army, which, like those of the Italian *condottieri*, looked up to Wallenstein as their lord and proprietor. The troops were at first directed to be cantoned in Franconia and Suabia, in order that they might live at free quarters upon the inhabitants; and on marching through Nuremberg, Wallenstein compelled that town to contribute 100,000 gulden, although it had done nothing whatever to incur the displeasure of the Emperor.

Wallenstein, with an army that went on daily increasing, marched, in the autumn, into the Bishoprics of Halberstadt and Magdeburg; while Tilly, as already related, was taking place after place in Westphalia and Lower Saxony. It was fortunate for the Protestant cause that a mutual jealousy subsisted between Tilly and Wallenstein; hence, as neither would recognize the other as his superior, both armies acted without any concerted plan. At the instance of the Protestants a peace congress was held at Brunswick in the winter; but though Maximilian of Bavaria and his general were not indisposed to an accommodation, Wallenstein, who had formed the project of obtaining a principality for himself, rejected it with brutality. When the campaign opened in the spring of 1626, Wallenstein, instead of joining Tilly, marched eastward. The Protestants, however, committed errors on their side. Count Mansfeld, instead of forming a junction with Christian IV., who had now again taken the field, and thus opposing their united forces to Tilly, resolved to march into Bohemia, excite the inhabitants to rise, and call Bethlem Gabor again into the field; but after two abortive attempts on the bridge of Dessau, Mansfeld was forced to retreat before Wallenstein (April 25th), and his army was dispersed with the exception of about 5,000 men, with whom he entered the March of Brandenburg. By the aid of French subsidies, however, with which he levied men in Mecklenburg, and being joined by 1,000 Scots, 2,000 Danes, and 5,000 men under John Ernest of Saxe-Weimar, he increased his army to about 20,000 men, with whom he marched through Frankfurt-on-Oder, Crossen, Glogau, Breslau, Oppeln, Ratibor, to Jablunka, where Bethlem Gabor had promised to meet him. But the fickle Transylvanian Prince again proved faithless, and made peace with the Emperor; Mansfeld, on the approach of Wallenstein, who had followed him through Lusatia into Silesia, was compelled to disband his army; part

Wallenstein's campaign.

of his troops he assigned to John Ernest of Saxe-Weimar, and he himself proceeded into Dalmatia, intending by a secure, though circuitous way, to reach again the scene of action; but he fell sick and died in that country at the age of forty-five.

Campaign
of 1626.

Mansfeld's movement had, however, diverted Wallenstein and his troops from taking part against Christian IV., when the Danish King was on the point of fighting a decisive action with Tilly. Early in 1626, Christian had fixed his headquarters at Wolfenbüttel, whence his forces were extended on one side into Brandenburg, while another portion was posted in the Bishoprics of Osnabrück and Münster. He unfortunately lost the services of Prince Christian of Brunswick, who died in May, just at the moment when his reckless valour might have been useful. Among the Danish army, however, appeared Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, who was afterwards to play so distinguished a part in the Thirty Years' War. Tilly was detained some months in besieging Münden, which he at last took after a murderous assault, and the loss of many men (June 9th), when the greater part of the garrison were massacred. Tilly next laid siege to Göttingen, which detained him till the 11th of August. He was soon after driven from that place as well as from Nordheim; but by forming a junction with the troops left by Wallenstein on the Elbe, he prevented the King of Denmark from penetrating into Thuringia, and joining the Saxon Dukes and the Landgrave Maurice of Hesse. Tilly had compelled Maurice, according to a decree of the Imperial Council, to cede the whole district of Marburg to Hesse-Darmstadt; to renounce all alliances with the Emperor's enemies; and to permit on all occasions the passage of the Imperial troops through his dominions. Christian had marched southward as far as the Eichsfeld, whence he now found himself compelled to retreat towards Wolfenbüttel; but on the march he fell in with Tilly and his army, and an action ensued near the little town of Lutter, August 27th. After a bloody battle, in which Christian, by Tilly's own account, displayed great activity and valour, the general of the League achieved a decisive victory. The Danish King nevertheless, though he had lost several thousand men, succeeded in holding Wolfenbüttel and Nordheim till the following spring, when the operations of Wallenstein gave a new turn to affairs. That commander, after the

retreat of Mansfeld, had maintained and increased his army in reconquered Silesia at the expense of the unfortunate inhabitants. He himself spent the winter at Vienna; but in the spring of 1627 he returned into Silesia, and marched with his army towards the Baltic. Directing his Colonel Arnim to occupy the two Mecklenburg duchies, and to summon the towns of Rostock and Wismar to admit Imperial garrisons, he himself entered Dömitz with another division of his forces. The approach of his army was announced by strange harbingers, which showed its irregular and lawless composition. Bands of gipsies of from ten to fifteen men, each provided with two long muskets, and bringing with them women on horseback with pistols at their saddle-bows, appeared simultaneously in many places; they boasted that they were in Wallenstein's pay, marched by byways and tracks, concealed themselves in the bushes and underwood, and plundered wherever they found an opportunity.¹ It appears from Wallenstein's letters at this period, that he had formed the design of seizing the Mecklenburgs for himself; and the Emperor, regarding the two Dukes of Mecklenburg as rebellious vassals, abandoned their territories to that commander.

Christian IV., threatened on one side by Wallenstein, on the other by Tilly, found himself compelled to retreat into his own dominions, whither he was pursued by the united forces of the Imperialists. Tilly, after some success in Holstein, proceeded to the Lower Weser, as it was reported that the Dutch were about to send a fleet into that river; while Wallenstein advanced through Sleswig into Jutland, and compelled the King of Denmark and his army to fly into the islands. During the winter of 1627-1628, Tilly maintained his troops at the expense of Bremen, Brunswick, and Lünenburg, while Wallenstein cantoned his army in Brandenburg, and treated the unfortunate Elector, George William, like a conquered enemy, although he was completely submissive to the Emperor's will. Brandenburg, as well as Mecklenburg and Pomerania, were forced to make large contributions for the support of Wallenstein's army. Gustavus Adolphus, then engaged in the war with Poland, would willingly have

Christian
IV. de-
feated.

¹ Von der Decken, *Herzog Georg von Braunschweig*, ap. Geijer, B. iii. S. 141.

helped his brother-in-law; but George William dreaded the Swedes even more than the troops of Wallenstein. The character and talents of Gustavus, however, filled Wallenstein with awe; and he addressed to him, though with great misgivings, propositions to enter into an alliance with the Emperor against Denmark. A project had been formed to dethrone Christian IV., and to place the Emperor, or perhaps even Wallenstein himself, on the throne of Denmark; while Schonen and Norway were to have been allotted to Gustavus as the price of his aid.¹ But these negotiations had no result. Among other schemes of Wallenstein at this time was one for obtaining the command of the Baltic. He dreamt of reviving the trade and power of the Hanse towns, which had been crushed by Denmark, and of giving them a monopoly of the Spanish trade. With these thoughts he procured the Emperor to appoint him "Admiral of the Ocean and of the Baltic Sea;" and he made some preparations for the building of a fleet, which, however, he found not so easy an enterprise as the raising of an army. The same schemes also urged him to get possession of the Baltic ports.

Ambitious
schemes of
Wallen-
stein.

The designs of Ferdinand II. seemed now to be wafted onwards on a full tide of success. Not only were his arms everywhere victorious, but his civil policy also encountered no serious resistance. The tyranny and extortions of Wallenstein, who exercised an almost uncontrolled dictatorship, had indeed excited serious discontent in many of the Catholic as well as in the Protestant States; even Maximilian of Bavaria himself, when his ends had been accomplished by the transfer to him of the Upper Palatinate and the Electoral dignity, began to look with jealousy on Wallenstein's career, and to sympathize with the misery which his brutality created. An assembly of the Catholic States had been held at Würzburg in 1627 to consider these evils, and the means for their redress; but the timidity of some, the jealousy of others, and the animosity of all against the Protestants, deprived their deliberations of any result. On the other hand, at a meeting

Success
of the
Emperor.

¹ These negotiations were first revealed by the publication of Wallenstein's letters. See the letters to Arnim, December 13th and 20th, 1627, January 3rd and 6th, 1628, in Förster, B. i. SS. 162, 168; B. ii. S. 10. It appears from a letter addressed to Christian IV. by Gustavus Adolphus (October 21st, 1627) that the Crown of Denmark had been offered to him. Geijer, B. iii. S. 142.

of the Electoral College held soon after at Mühlhausen (October), the policy of the Emperor entirely prevailed. Ferdinand II. was not naturally cruel, but he was bigoted to the last degree; he considered that there was no salvation out of the pale of the Roman Catholic Church; and, being led by the Jesuits, he thought that he was only acting for the welfare of his subjects in compelling them, by whatever means, to return to that faith. He had entirely abolished in his hereditary dominions the exercise of the Protestant religion, and he was now contemplating the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic Church throughout the Empire, and the restoring to it of those temporal principalities and other property of which it had been deprived by Protestant Princes since and against the Treaty of Passau. At Mühlhausen the fanatical party was predominant. In accordance with the views of Ferdinand and his confessor, the spiritual Electors, supported by the Nuncio Caraffa, determined on a complete Catholic reaction, to begin in South Germany, and thence to extend to the north; and orders for the restoration of Church property were accordingly issued to the Duke of Würtemberg, the towns of Strassburg, Anspach, Nuremberg, Hall in Suabia, Ulm, and others. A majority of this assembly also confirmed the deposition of the Elector Palatine; and by a deed executed at Munich in February, 1628, Maximilian of Bavaria was now solemnly invested with the Electorate, as well as with the Upper Palatinate, and that part of the Lower, which lay on the right bank of the Rhine. These dominions were the pledge of 13,000,000 florins advanced by Maximilian for the war; who in return restored to the Emperor Upper Austria, which he held as security, but on the understanding that if he were driven out of the Palatinate, his former pledge was again to be put into his hands.

In April, 1628, the Emperor formally made over to Wallenstein, now created Prince of Sagan in Silesia, the dominions of the two rebellious Dukes of Mecklenburg in pledge, and the States of Mecklenburg were compelled to do homage to him. The plans of Wallenstein rendered the occupation of the Pomeranian town of Stralsund very desirable, while the Kings both of Sweden and Denmark were as much interested in preventing him from obtaining possession of that port. The town itself sent a message to the Emperor, professing loyalty and devotion, and offering money, but at the same

Wallenstein
besieges
Stralsund.

time made the utmost exertions to defend itself against his general. Although Ferdinand returned a favourable answer to the citizens, Wallenstein ordered Colonel Arnim to bombard and storm the town, and is said to have sworn that he would have Stralsund were it fastened with chains to heaven. The enterprise, however, was not an easy one. Christian IV. threw in provisions and reinforcements, among which was a Scottish corps under Monroe, and he subsequently appeared himself off the port with a fleet of six ships of war and 150 other vessels, which took up such a position as obliged Wallenstein for a time to withdraw his batteries. When Christian, who was then contemplating a peace, retired, the inhabitants of Stralsund entered into a treaty with Gustavus Adolphus, and, besides a large quantity of ammunition, he reinforced their garrison with 6,000 Swedes, under Fritz Rosladin, and subsequently with another corps under Alexander Leslie¹ (Earl of Leven) and Nils Brahe. At length Wallenstein, after losing near half his army, found it necessary to raise the siege (August 3rd).

Peace of
Lübeck,
1629.

As the war with Denmark had, on the whole, been successful, and cost the Emperor nothing, he would have been inclined to continue it, had not the disputes which arose in Italy about the Mantuan succession rendered it desirable to despatch some troops in that direction, which so weakened Tilly's army that Christian drove him with great loss out of Jutland, Sleswig, and Holstein. The advances of the King of Denmark were therefore entertained; conferences were opened at Lübeck, and on the 22nd May, 1629, was signed the PEACE OF LÜBECK. By this treaty Christian IV., reinstated in all his hereditary possessions, engaged to interfere no further in the affairs of Lower Saxony, except in his quality of Duke of Holstein; and he renounced, in the name of both his sons, the German Bishoprics which he had procured for them.² He shamefully abandoned the Dukes of Mecklenburg and all the German Princes his allies, nor could the representations of England, France, and Holland induce him to make the least stipulation in favour of the

¹ Leslie, who eventually became a Swedish field-marshal, was so illiterate that he could not read; and Count Brahe was therefore appointed to assist him and read the King's orders. Geijer, B. iii. S. 155, Anm.

² Dumont, t. v. pt. ii. p. 584.

Elector Palatine; wherefore those Powers refused to accede to the treaty. Gustavus Adolphus had sent a plenipotentiary to the congress at Lübeck; but Wallenstein refused to treat with him so long as a Swedish garrison remained in Stralsund.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE SWEDES IN GERMANY

Edict of
Restitution.

THE Peace of Lübeck, and the withdrawal from the German Protestants of the protection of Denmark, encouraged the Emperor to carry out the EDICT OF RESTITUTION, which had been published two months previously (March 29th, 1629). This celebrated edict forms a turning point in the Thirty Years' War. Hitherto matters had gone prosperously with Ferdinand; but this measure excited desperate opposition, and was one of the chief causes that brought Gustavus Adolphus into Germany. The general object of the edict was to restore ecclesiastical affairs to the state they were in at the Peace of Passau in 1552; and the three main points in it were: 1. That the Catholics were to receive back all the *mediate*¹ convents and other mediate ecclesiastical foundations, of which they had been deprived since that treaty. 2. Members of the Confession of Augsburg holding *immediate* bishoprics and prelacies were to surrender them back to the Catholics. 3. Catholic States were to enjoy the right of making their subjects conform to their faith, and of removing those who would not, after paying proper compensation; just as the Princes of the Augsburg Confession had acted on that principle. The Emperor further declared that the Peace of Passau, as submitted to Charles V., included only Catholics and members of the Lutheran Confession; and that all other sects, present or future, were not entitled to its benefits, and ought not to be tolerated.²

After the promulgation of the Edict of Restitution, Ferdinand proceeded to appoint his son, the Archduke Leopold, who already enjoyed so many bishoprics, to the metropolitan

¹ Not held directly of the Emperor, but of some Prince.

² Edict in Londorp, Th. iii. p. 1048 sq.

sees of Bremen and Magdeburg.¹ This last appointment attacked the claims of the Elector of Saxony. When Wallenstein entered the Archbishopric of Magdeburg in January, 1628, the Protestant Chapter, in order to conciliate the Emperor, and at the same time to secure a Protestant head, had deposed the Margrave Christian William of Brandenburg, the lay Archbishop in possession, who had been put under the ban of the Empire; and had demanded in his stead Augustus, second son of the Elector John George, then only in his fourteenth year. Ferdinand, however, referred the matter to the Pope, who nominated Leopold; and John George, though vexed and alarmed by the Edict of Restitution, was soon pacified by the assurance that his ancient secularized possessions should not be touched. In Augsburg, Kaufbeuren, Würtemberg, Halberstadt, and other places, the edict was forcibly carried out; the evangelical preachers were expelled, the Protestant churches shut up, and even private worship forbidden under severe penalties.

The Emperor had been assisted in his plans by the want of spirit and patriotism displayed by most of the German Protestant Princes. The Duke of Würtemberg, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the Thuringian Dukes alone showed any anxiety to vindicate the cause of their country and their religion: the political as well as the religious liberties of Germany were to be saved by a foreign Prince. Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden had viewed with alarm the progress of Wallenstein, and especially the plan for extending the domination of Austria to the Baltic. He had been offended by the exclusion of his ambassadors from the congress of Lübeck, and by the help given to the Poles by the Imperialists. He was also, no doubt, being himself a zealous Protestant, moved with indignation at the oppression exercised against the Protestants of Germany: although this was properly no *casus belli*, and was not even alluded to in the manifesto which he published shortly after his landing in that country.² Gustavus was also

Treaty
between
France and
Sweden.

¹ The Archbishoprics and Bishoprics which came under the operation of the edict were, Magdeburg, Bremen, Minden, Verden, Halberstadt, Lübeck, Ratzeburg, Meissen, Merseburg, Naumburg, Brandenburg, Havelberg, Lebus, and Camin.

² Thus Oxenstiern said, in 1637, in the Swedish Council: "Zum teutschen Krieg war kein *scopus principalis defensio religionis*—deren *arma spiritualia sunt, als preces et lacrimæ*—sondern dass *Regnum*

induced to engage in the great German struggle by the help of France. Richelieu, to effect so favourable a diversion to the war then carrying on in Italy between France and the House of Austria respecting the Mantuan succession, had, through his ambassador, Charnacé, negotiated a truce between Sweden and Poland, and promised to furnish Gustavus with an annual subsidy. It must not, however, be supposed that the support of France, though of course important, was the main cause of bringing Sweden into the field. Gustavus began the war before he had concluded any agreement with that Power, in order both to be and to show himself independent. The treaty of Bärwalde between France and Sweden was not definitively signed till January 23rd, 1631, several months after Gustavus had landed in Germany; nor, as Voltaire remarks, was the stipulated subsidy of a million livres per annum alone sufficient to have induced the Swedish King to enter on such a war.¹

Gustavus
Adolphus in
Germany.

Gustavus Adolphus set sail from the harbour of Elfsnabben, May 30th, 1630. Before his departure he took a formal leave of the States assembled at Stockholm, when he presented to them his little daughter, Christina, not yet six years of age; and tenderly embracing her, commended her to their fidelity as heiress of his Kingdom in a speech which drew tears even from those northern eyes. To conduct the government in his absence, he appointed a Council of Regency consisting of ten persons, who were to reside constantly at Stockholm. After an adverse and tedious navigation, he landed with an army of some 15,000 men in the isle of Usedom, off the coast of Pomerania, June 24th. Another division of his army was conveyed to Stralsund. Gustavus prided himself on being the first to set foot on German soil. No sooner was he landed than he seized a pickaxe and began to open a trench; after which he fell upon his knees and offered up a prayer.² In his army were several thousand British soldiers, most of whom had served in the German wars. After taking possession of the isles of Usedom and Wollin,

Sueciæ et Consortes Religionis möchten in Sicherheit sitzen, tam in statu ecclesiastico quam in politico.—*Palmsköldsche MSS.* ap. Geijer, *Gesch. Schwedens*, B. iii. S. 387.

¹ Dumont, t. vi. pt. i. Venice furnished in addition 400,000 livres annually.

² Harte, *Gustavus Adolphus*, vol. i. p. 216.

which lie off the mouth of the Oder, Gustavus proceeded towards Stettin, the residence of Boguslaus XIV., Duke of Pomerania. Boguslaus after a vain attempt to assert his neutrality, found himself compelled to submit to the Swedes; and being old and childless, made little difficulty in promising that the Duchy of Pomerania should remain in the hands of Sweden till the costs of the war were paid. Gustavus caused Stettin to be fortified anew, and then proceeded to occupy Damm and Stargard. By the junction of the troops at Stralsund and others, his army was now increased to upwards of 25,000 men, and there was no force competent to oppose him; for the Imperial army was dispersed in various directions, and that of Tilly was far from the seat of war, in the Upper Palatinate, Franconia, and Westphalia. An imprudent step on the part of the Emperor increased the advantages of Gustavus.

Ferdinand II. had convened a Diet at Ratisbon in July, 1630, for the purpose of procuring the election of his son as King of the Romans. The opportunity was seized to thwart and impede the Emperor's policy. Maximilian of Bavaria, jealous of the progress of Wallenstein, and having satisfied his own ambition by securing the Upper Palatinate and the Electoral dignity, would willingly have seen an end put to the war; and he resolved to clog the wheels of Austria by procuring the disgrace and ruin of the Duke of Friedland, and establishing a secret intelligence with the French Court. Wallenstein, in order to acquire new principalities, under pretence of carrying out the Edict of Restitution, had withdrawn his troops from Mecklenburg and the rest of Lower Saxony, thus leaving North Germany open to the invader. After ravaging the Archbishopric of Magdeburg, Wallenstein at last laid formal siege to that city; but as Ferdinand was then contemplating the nomination of his son as King of the Romans, and required for that purpose the votes of the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, both of whom had claims on Magdeburg, Wallenstein was ordered to abandon the siege. He then cast his eyes on the smaller lands and bishoprics. Wolfenbüttel, from which Duke Frederick Ulrich of Brunswick had been deposed by a decree of the Imperial Council, was to be made over as a principality to Wallenstein's general, Pappenheim; Calenburg was to be given to Tilly; Würtemberg had also felt the effects of military

Diet of
Ratisbon,
1630.

violence: and everywhere, in carrying out the Edict of Restitution, no particular inquiries were made whether the Church property seized had been secularized before or after the Treaty of Passau.

These proceedings had given great dissatisfaction, not only to Duke Maximilian, but also to other Electors and Princes. Maximilian openly joined the party which demanded the dismissal of Wallenstein and the reduction of the Imperial army as conditions without which they would not consent to the election of the Emperor's son, Ferdinand, as King of the Romans. The Emperor, the Elector of Bavaria, and the spiritual Electors appeared in person at Ratisbon, but Brandenburg and Saxony sent only deputies. At this assembly also appeared the French envoys, Leon Brulart and Father Joseph, ostensibly about the affairs of Italy, but with secret instructions to do all in their power still further to embitter Maximilian, who had already a secret intelligence with the French Court, and the spiritual Electors against Wallenstein, to effect the disarmament of the Empire, and to prevent the election of Ferdinand's son.¹ In all these objects they were completely successful. The Emperor, after a long struggle, consented to dismiss Wallenstein, and to reduce the Imperial army to 40,000 men, while the League still kept on foot a force of 30,000; yet, so far from securing the election of his son by these concessions, the Electors even talked of making the Duke of Bavaria his successor on the Imperial throne. Wallenstein, after remaining at Halberstädt till January, had proceeded into Bohemia to reduce some of his Protestant peasants to obedience, after which he returned to the headquarters of his army at Memmingen, in Suabia; and it was here that he received, in August, the order of the Emperor to lay down his command. He surprised all by his ready compliance with the Emperor's order, of which he had been previously informed by his cousin, Max Wallenstein. When the Imperial envoys appeared, he received them in a friendly manner, gave them a splendid entertainment, and when, after long hesitation, they began a carefully prepared speech, he interrupted them by reading a Latin paper, in which were indicated the nativity of the Emperor, that of the Elector of Bavaria, and his own, adding, "You may see, gentlemen,

Dismissal
of Wallen-
stein.

¹ See Richelieu, *Mémoires*, pt. x.

from the stars, that I was acquainted with your commission, and that the *spiritus* of the Elector dominates over that of the Emperor. I cannot therefore blame the Emperor; and though I grieve that his Majesty should support me so little, I shall obey."¹ He now again repaired to his Bohemian estates, but spent much of his time at Prague, where he lived with regal splendour. The dismissal of Wallenstein's army, which the policy of Richelieu had not a little contributed to effect, was, of course, most favourable to the operations of Gustavus Adolphus. Richelieu's envoys also succeeded in adjusting the affairs of the Mantuan succession, of which we must here say a few words.

Vincenzo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua and Marquis of Montferrat, died December 26th, 1627. His next heir in the Duchy of Mantua was the Duke of Nevers, descended with Vincenzo from a common grandfather, Frederick II., though by a younger son of this Duke. Vincenzo's successor in Montferrat was his niece, Maria Gonzaga, who shortly before her uncle's death had been married to Charles Count of Rethel, son of the Duke of Nevers, in which House, therefore, the whole inheritance was united, and the Duke of Nevers took possession of it in January, 1628. The Court of Spain, however, was unwilling to see so important an Italian possession fall into the hands of a Prince long naturalized in France; and they raised up a counter-claimant in the person of Cæsar Duke of Guastalla, descended from Ferdinand, a brother of Duke Frederick II., founding his pretensions on the circumstance that, though of the younger branch, he was the offspring of the *eldest* son of Ferdinand, while the Duke of Nevers sprang from the *third* son of Frederick. The Duke of Savoy also disputed the title of his grand-daughter, Maria Gonzaga, to Montferrat, and revived the claims of his house, made a century before, to that marquisate, but condemned by the Emperor Charles V. The Spaniards incited the Duke of Guastalla to appeal to the Emperor, as Suzerain of the Mantuan duchy, and made an alliance with the Duke of Savoy, promising to give him Trino and other places in Montferrat adjoining his dominions. As the Emperor delayed to give his decision, a Spanish force, under the Count of Montenegro, entered the Mantuan territory, whilst another body

The
Mantuan
succession.

¹ Förster, *Wallenstein*, p 147.

laid siege to Casale, the capital of Montferrat, Charles Emmanuel engaging to secure, meanwhile, the passes of the Alps against the advance of the French. After the fall of La Rochelle, Richelieu was hindered by the intrigues of the Queen-Mother from immediately interfering in the affairs of Italy; but early in 1629 he persuaded Louis XIII., whom he accompanied, to cross Mont-Génèvre with his army; the Pass of Susa was carried against the Piedmontese (March), and the Duke of Savoy was compelled to accept a treaty, to which, as the French were preponderant in force, the Spanish Governor of Milan was also glad to accede.

War in
Italy.

The French, who held Casale, leaving a garrison of 6,000 men in Susa till the treaty should be ratified by Spain, now re-crossed the Alps, in order to reduce the last remains of the Huguenots, who, under the Duke of Rohan, still held out in Languedoc and other southern parts of France. The hands of Richelieu were left the more free for this undertaking by the peace concluded with England April 4th, 1629, by which Charles I., engrossed by his quarrels with his subjects, consented to renounce his protection of the Huguenots. The Court of Spain, despite its bigotry, entered into an agreement to assist Rohan and his heretics (May), but it was too late; the Huguenots failed, and their extinction as a political party was consummated by the reduction of Montauban in August, 1629. Meanwhile an Imperial army, withdrawn, as already mentioned, from North Germany, had entered the territory of the Grisons, had seized Chur and the passes of the Upper Rhine, and on the 5th of June the French were summoned by proclamation of the Emperor to evacuate the Imperial fiefs in Italy. The summer was spent in negotiations, during which, with an eye to future contests, the veteran captain, Spinola, was made Governor of Milan by Philip IV. At the end of September the Imperialists, under Collalto, descended into Lombardy, and laid siege to Mantua, whilst Spinola invaded Montferrat. Richelieu now raised an army, composed chiefly of foreign mercenaries, and, as Louis XIII. was detained at home by domestic occurrences, the Cardinal crossed the Alps at their head in February, 1630, with the title and authority of Lieutenant-General of the King. The ravages of disease had compelled the Imperial army to abandon the siege of Mantua; but the Duke of Savoy was intractable, and to put an end to his evasions,

Richelieu
General-
issimo.

Richelieu made a feint on Turin, near which Charles Emmanuel was posted with his army. In this march the Cardinal appeared as generalissimo at the head of the cavalry, with cuirass, helmet, and plume, a sword by his side, and pistols in his holsters. But instead of marching on Turin, Richelieu suddenly retraced his steps towards the Alps, and seized Pinerolo after a three days' siege, thus securing the key of Italy. Louis, in person, effected the reduction of Savoy in June, whilst in Piedmont Charles Emmanuel was defeated at Vegliana by the Duke of Montmorenci, July 10th. Grief and vexation at these events caused the death of the Duke of Savoy, who expired July 26th, at the age of sixty-eight. To balance, however, these successes of the French, the almost impregnable fortress of Mantua was surprised and captured by the lieutenants of Collalto in the night of July 17th.

Victor Amadeus, the new Duke of Savoy, who had married a sister of Louis XIII., was not so uncompromising an enemy of France as his father. By the intermediation of Giulio Mazarini, the Pope's agent, a truce was signed, to last from September 8th to October 15th; and Victor Amadeus promised to join the French if a reasonable peace were not effected by the 13th of October. The town of Casale was put into Spinola's hands, who was at that time besieging it; the citadel was still held by the French under Toiras; who, however, engaged to surrender it, if not relieved before the end of October. On the 17th of that month, the truce being expired, Marshals La Force, Schomberg, and Marillac marched to the relief of Casale. Spinola had died during the truce. On the 26th of October, the French and Spanish armies were in presence before the town; a battle was on the eve of commencing, when suddenly a cavalier dashed from the Spanish line, and rode towards the French, waving a white handkerchief, and exclaiming in Italian, "*Pace! pace! alto! alto!*" (Peace! peace! halt! halt!) He advanced at the risk of his life, for several of the French soldiers fired on him.

It was Giulio Mazarini, who was really the bearer of a treaty of peace effected by Brulart and Richelieu's factotum Father Joseph, at Ratisbon. Richelieu, however, declared that they had exceeded their commission; and it is not very clear whether they had been induced to hurry on a treaty by the news of the King's dangerous illness, of the factions which prevailed in the French Court, and the critical situation

Siege of
Casale.

Treaty of
Cherasco,
1631.

of Casale, the capture of which appeared inevitable, or whether the Cardinal, by what a French historian calls "a somewhat Machiavellian combination,"¹ had furnished his Capuchin with secret instructions to conclude a treaty which he might afterwards find a pretext to disavow. It was, however, accepted by the French generals. It was agreed that both the French and Spaniards should evacuate Casale and the rest of Montferrat; the town and citadel were to be given up to Ferdinand, second son of the Duke of Mantua; and the garrisons were to be composed entirely of native troops. The French, however, with very bad faith, left behind them some of their own soldiers, clothed in the Montferrat uniform; and when the Spaniards had recrossed the Po, two French regiments returned and introduced a convoy of provisions into Casale. Yet hostilities were not resumed. The appearance of Gustavus Adolphus in Germany induced the Emperor to abandon the war in Italy, in spite of the endeavours of Philip IV. to persuade him to continue it; and a treaty of peace was concluded at Cherasco, in Piedmont, April 6th, 1631. By this treaty Ferdinand II. agreed to invest the Duke of Nevers with Mantua and Montferrat, on his ceding a large portion of the latter, including Alba and Trino to Victor Amadeus, to to whom also France was to restore all that she occupied in Piedmont and Savoy.² Richelieu, however, by a secret agreement with the Duke of Savoy, contrived to evade this part of the treaty, in so far as Pinerolo was concerned, which he had resolved never to restore.

Such was the conclusion of the war of the Mantuan succession, which forms a sort of episode in the great drama of the Thirty Years' War. Richelieu did not mean to let the Italian peace divert him from the less open warfare which he was pursuing against the House of Austria in Germany. Intrigues against the Cardinal during the dangerous illness of Louis XIII. had threatened to overthrow his policy and put an end to his ministry, perhaps even to his life. They were frustrated by the unexpected recovery of the King. The failure of the plots against him served to place his power and influence on a firmer basis, and to give him freer scope to pursue his plans of foreign policy.

Having wrested Pomerania, with the exception of a few

¹ Martin, t. xi. p. 339.

² Dumont, t. vi. pt. i. p. 9.

towns, from the Imperialists under Torquato Conti, Gustavus entered Mecklenburg, after concluding a treaty with the deposed Dukes of that country; but he in vain endeavoured to persuade the Elector of Saxony, and the Elector of Brandenburg, his brother-in-law, to ally themselves with him in defence of their religion. Gustavus was detained some time at Stralsund, engaged in negotiations with the French envoy, Charnacé, which ended in the treaty of Bärwalde, already mentioned. To the surprise of the enemy, the Swedes, according to their custom, continued the campaign during the winter; and Greifenhagen was assaulted and taken, under the conduct of Gustavus, on Christmas eve. Early in 1631, Kolberg, Frankfurt-on-Oder, and Demmin yielded to his arms, before Tilly thought it prudent to oppose him. The Leaguist general, distrustful of the Elector of Saxony, whom the Emperor had offended in the matter of Magdeburg, demanded this town, as well as Leipsic and Wittenberg, on the ground that they were necessary for his operations on the Elbe; and, after taking New Brandenburg and putting the Swedish garrison to the sword, he proceeded to Magdeburg.

Progress of
Gustavus
Adolphus.

Gustavus expected that Tilly's attack upon a city to which the Electors both of Saxony and Brandenburg had claims, would procure him the alliance of those Princes; but as both of them continued to decline his proposals, he was compelled to leave Magdeburg to its fate. Early in 1631, John George had assembled the Protestant Princes and Free Cities at Leipsic to come to some decision respecting the Edict of Restitution and the wrongs done to the Protestants; but the Conventus of Leipsic, as it was called, though it roused the indignation and resentment of the Emperor, had, like most German meetings, little practical result. All alliance with Gustavus, the only man who could save Germany, was declined; but there was some talk, which ended in nothing, of applying to the already vanquished King of Denmark. The King of Sweden had demanded from the Elector of Brandenburg Küstrin and Spandau; George William would grant only the former of these towns; and Gustavus finding, after an interview, that he could not persuade his brother-in-law, determined to march on Berlin. He approached that city with only 1,000 musketeers; but his whole army followed and encamped round it; and the Elector found himself compelled to abandon Spandau to the Swedes, on condition that it

Conventus
of Leipsic.

Sack of
Magdeburg.

should be evacuated when Magdeburg had been relieved. But this it was too late to accomplish. Magdeburg, besieged since March, was taken by storm, May 10th, and dreadfully handled. Count Pappenheim, who served under Tilly, irritated by the prolonged resistance of some of the citizens, is said to have caused their houses to be fired: in the night the flames spread over the whole city, and left only the Cathedral, and some houses round about it, undestroyed. Between 20,000 and 30,000 inhabitants are said to have perished.¹

Battle of
Leipsic.

Gustavus was forced again to threaten Berlin before his brother-in-law would consent to join him; and at last, on the 11th of June, 1631, a formal treaty was concluded. George William agreed to pay 30,000 dollars monthly to the Swedes, and to place Spandau and Küstrin at their disposal. But Gustavus could not plunge deeper into Germany till he had made terms with the Elector of Saxony, who had now on foot an army of 18,000 men under the command of Arnim, formerly a colonel of Wallenstein's. John George had refused to help the Swedes in their attempt to relieve Magdeburg, and had even contested their passing the Elbe. After the fall of Magdeburg, Gustavus therefore again marched northwards into Mecklenburg and Pomerania, and wrested Greifswald from the Imperialists. He and Tilly seemed to avoid each other; for Tilly proceeded into the middle districts of Germany to rob and hector the Protestant Princes. Duke William of Weimar fled before him to Leipsic; but Duke Bernhard, in conjunction with William, Landgrave of Hesse, resolved on a stout resistance; and the latter rejected Tilly's demands to surrender Cassel and Ziegenhain, and to pay a contribution. Upon the approach of Gustavus, who had crossed the Elbe, and established a fortified camp near the little town of Werben, opposite the confluence of the Havel, Tilly was obliged to withdraw his troops from Hesse, and the Landgrave reoccupied his fortresses. While the Swedish army was at Werben, Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar entered the service of Gustavus, and the Landgrave of Hesse concluded with him at the same

¹ Tilly's conduct is extenuated by Harte, Schiller, and other historians. Yet those who have undertaken his defence will find it difficult to explain away the admitted fact that it was not till the *third day* that he entered Magdeburg and proclaimed quarter. See Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. iv. S. 68 f.

place the Treaty of Werben. The Swedish King supplied the Landgrave with money to levy troops, and appointed him general of all the forces that should be raised in the Rhenish Circles and Upper Germany. In August, the Dukes of Mecklenburg were solemnly reinstated in their dominions at Güstrow, although the Imperialists continued to maintain themselves at Rostock till October, and at Wismar till January, 1632. During the summer both Gustavus and Tilly had received considerable reinforcements; the Swedish King had been rejoined by General Gustavus Horn with 4,000 men, while the Imperial general had added to his army many of the troops dismissed from the war in Italy. Tilly was repulsed in an attempt to storm the camp of Gustavus at Werben; and afterwards by an impolitic endeavour to overawe the Elector of Saxony, who, as we have said, had excited the anger and suspicion of the Imperialists by the Leipsic Conventus, he threw that Prince into the arms of Gustavus. The Imperialists, 40,000 or 50,000 strong, entered Saxony; Tilly proceeded with his usual ferocity, and when the Elector heard that 200 of his villages were in flames, he formed an alliance with Gustavus, and on the 5th of September joined the Swedes with an army of some 18,000 men. Tilly had entered Leipsic, but on the approach of Gustavus and John George he offered them battle at Breitenfeld, near that town. The BATTLE OF LEIPSIC, one of the most splendid victories of Gustavus Adolphus, was won entirely by the Swedes, September 7th, 1631; the Saxons, consisting of raw recruits, were speedily routed; the Elector, who had taken post in the rear, joined the flight with his body-guard, and stopped not till he reached Eilenburg; where he refreshed himself with a draught of beer. After an engagement of five hours, Tilly was completely defeated; he lost his guns and half his men, and he himself narrowly escaped with his life.

After this decisive victory Germany seemed to lie at the mercy of the Swedish King. Many were of opinion that he should have marched directly on Vienna, and among those who thought so were two of the most eminent statesmen of Europe, Richelieu and Gustavus's own Chancellor, Oxenstiern. It does not, however, follow that the capture of Vienna would have put an end to the war. That capital had been taken before, yet Austria continued to subsist. Gustavus resolved to march to the Rhine: a course to which he seems to have

Gustavus
marches to
the Rhine.

been determined by the advice of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, by a pressing invitation from the Protestant States assembled at Frankfurt-on-Main, and by the prospect of making the Catholic Bishoprics contribute to the support of his army. While the Saxons under Arnim were to proceed through Lusatia and Bohemia into Moravia, the Swedish King pressed on his march through the Thuringian forest, often continuing it at night by the light of torches. Tilly retired with the remnant of his forces by Halle into Westphalia; where he rallied all the dispersed bodies of Imperialists, intending to intercept the Swedes on their march through Franconia. A Swedish officer who preceded Gustavus, succeeded in gaining to his alliance the towns of Nuremberg, Ulm, and Strassburg; and Erfurt, Gotha, and all that lay on the road to Franconia, were occupied before the end of September. On the 13th of October, the Swedes appeared before Würzburg, which was soon captured, though the Castle held out till November 7th. Hanau was surprised; Frankfurt opened its gates; Gustavus passed through the city, and on the same evening occupied Höchst (November 17th).

Tilly had in vain endeavoured to intercept the triumphant progress of the Swedes. He and Pappenheim had quarrelled; the latter went into Westphalia, while Tilly, after a vain attempt to succour Würzburg, marched to Nuremberg. Gustavus heard, soon after his arrival at Höchst, that his enemies had separated: one portion of their force had been despatched to Bohemia, another to Bavaria, while the third and smallest portion remained in Franconia. Tilly, with tears, complained that Maximilian of Bavaria had forbidden him to undertake anything decisive, as his army formed the last reserve.¹ Yet Gustavus, who, on his march from Würzburg to Hanau, had only 7,500 foot and 4,000 cavalry, had never been seen so disturbed and indecisive as on the approach of Tilly.² Mainz surrendered to Gustavus, December 13th. Gustavus had been called the "Snow-King," whose forces, it was said, would melt away as he approached the south. It was therefore a surprise to see him established, at Christmas, 1631, on the banks of the Rhine, the recognized head of Protestant Germany, accom-

¹ Khevenhiller, *Ann. Ferd.* Th. xi. S. 1884.

² Monro, *Exped. with McKey's Regiment*, pt. ii. p. 86.

panied by his consort, and surrounded by a crowd of princes and ambassadors. His Chancellor, Oxenstiern, who brought thither some reinforcements from Prussia, viewed with dissatisfaction and alarm the many princes who composed his staff. The Swedish arms appeared everywhere successful. Tott had completed the conquest of Mecklenburg by capturing Rostock, Wismar, and Dömitz; Horn, though beaten by Tilly at Bamberg, had succeeded in penetrating to the Neckar; Baner had taken possession of Magdeburg after its evacuation by Pappenheim; Duke Bernhard of Weimar had driven the enemy from the Lower Palatinate, with the exception of Frankenthal and Heidelberg; the Landgrave William IV. of Hesse had recovered his dominions, occupied Paderborn and Southern Westphalia, and raised a considerable army. Thus the greater part of Germany was in the hands of the Swedes and their allies. The Catholic League had been dissipated. Some of its members had lost their possessions to Gustavus; others had joined the Emperor, or thrown themselves into the arms of France. In February, 1632, the Elector Palatine Frederick V., at the invitation of Gustavus, joined that monarch at Frankfurt-on-Main. He was received with great honour by Gustavus, whose behaviour, however, was equivocal. Frederick was in hopes that he should be restored to his dominions; but Gustavus was angry and disappointed at getting neither subsidies nor troops from Charles I., although that King was continually pressing for his brother-in-law's restoration. Frederick, however, continued to accompany the Swedish army, in the hope that he should at last obtain his rights.

Gustavus
is joined by
the Elector
Frederick.

But notwithstanding the apparently triumphant ascendancy of Gustavus Adolphus, clouds had already begun to obscure his success. He found that he could not rely upon the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, both of whom had joined him by compulsion; George William's minister, Schwarzenberg, a Catholic, was privately sold to the Emperor; Arnim, the commander of the Saxon army, an ex-colonel of Wallenstein's, remained secretly connected with his former general. When Arnim marched with the Saxons to Prague he did not disturb his old commander's tranquillity; he left his palaces and lands untouched; and when Wallenstein again assumed the supreme command, he made no attempt to hinder him from levying an army. John George he cajoled

Signs of
opposition.

with the idea of making himself the head of a third party in Germany.

Lorraine
becomes
subject to
France.

The success of Gustavus had been more rapid and decisive than Richelieu had hoped or expected, and seemed to threaten the existence of French influence in Germany. The Cardinal would rather have fomented the divisions in Germany by a league with the Duke of Bavaria and such other Catholic Princes and States as were opposed to the Emperor, than by assuming the protection of the German Protestants; but Maximilian still hesitated. The three ecclesiastical Electors had invoked the mediation of France in November. Louis XIII. and Richelieu had proceeded to Metz to reduce to obedience the Duke of Lorraine, who had placed some of his towns in the hands of the Imperialists, and had himself joined the army of Tilly. The French Court arrived at Metz soon after Gustavus had entered Mainz; and here Louis XIII. received the submission of the Duke of Lorraine, who had been advised to make his peace with the King. By the treaty of Vic, January 6th, 1632, Charles IV. of Lorraine descended from the rank of a Prince of the Empire to something very like a French vassal. He abandoned all his relations with the Emperor and the King of Spain, promised to contract no alliance without the consent of Louis, and engaged not only to permit French forces to pass through Lorraine, but also to join them with his own. At Metz also arrived the now landless Bishop of Würzburg, to beseech the King and Cardinal for aid in the name of religion. A more important suppliant was Philip Christopher von Sötern, Archbishop and Elector of Trèves. By the approach of Gustavus to the Rhine, and the entry of the French army into Lorraine, the Electorate of Trèves was threatened on both sides. The Elector, who was at variance with his Chapter, by a treaty concluded with the French, December 21st, 1631, had made over to them the fortress of Philippsburg on the Rhine, in his Bishopric of Spire, also Coblenz and the opposite fortress of Hermannstein, now called Ehrenbreitstein. The French thus obtained a footing on the Rhine, which they maintained till the Peace of Westphalia. But the Chapter and municipality of Trèves called in the Spaniards from the Netherlands, who anticipated the French in taking possession of Coblenz and Trèves; and as France and Spain were then at peace, they could not, of course, be driven out without declaring war.

In this conjuncture, in which the views and interests of Louis and Gustavus seemed to clash, the Swedish King behaved with firmness and dignity. He declined an interview with Louis and Richelieu. He would make no concessions to those Princes of the Catholic League whose domains he had occupied, as the Elector of Mainz and the Bishops of Würzburg and Worms; and he refused to restore them anything till a general peace. He reserved the right of punishing the Bishop of Bamberg, alleging that he had violated his capitulation. Towards the other members of the League he agreed to observe neutrality, and to restore what he had taken from the Duke of Bavaria and the Electors of Trèves and Cologne, except Spire; but he demanded in return that the Duke of Bavaria and his allies should restore all that they had taken from the Protestants since 1618; though a brief delay was to be accorded to arrange, under the mediation of France and England, an accommodation between Maximilian and the Palatine.

The Duke of Bavaria could not resign himself to these conditions; he beat about to gain time and raise troops, and thus brought the storm of war upon his dominions. Gustavus, after a rapid march into Franconia, where he punished the Bishop of Bamberg, pursued Tilly and his retreating army into Bavaria. The Danube was passed at Donauwörth without opposition; but Tilly, strongly posted at the little town of Rain, disputed the passage of the Lech. The Swedes, under cover of their guns, with difficulty threw a bridge across that rapid stream, and succeeded in passing, despite the furious resistance of Tilly (April 15th): a cannon-ball having carried away that commander's thigh, the Bavarians abandoned their position. Maximilian who came up towards evening, ordered a retreat to Ingolstadt, where on the following day the veteran Tilly died of his wound. Maximilian now took the sole command, and determined to struggle on till he should be helped by the Imperialists.

Gustavus
marches on
Bavaria.

After the battle of Leipsic Ferdinand II. had looked around in various quarters for assistance. He had invoked Spain, the Pope, the King of Poland, the Italian Princes, his son Ferdinand, now King of Hungary; but none of these could afford him any effectual succour. The only chance of safety seemed to be to recall the Duke of Friedland. The Emperor had remained on friendly terms with Wallenstein

Wallenstein
recalled.

after his dismissal, and continued to address him as "Duke of Mecklenburg, Friedland, and Sagan." Wallenstein was first sounded about resuming the command in October, but he excused himself, pleading indisposition from gout; and the Emperor was compelled to make the most humble and pressing appeal to him for assistance. It was not till towards the end of December that he consented to raise another army, when he engaged to serve for three months only, declining, however, the title of *generalissimo* and all the emoluments of the office. As the term of the three months drew nigh, and the advance of the Swedes inspired fresh alarm, the Emperor's solicitations that Wallenstein should continue in command were redoubled. The sound of his drum attracted recruits from all quarters, and he was soon at the head of 40,000 men. The time was come when he might make his own terms. He drew up a capitulation for the Emperor's signature which seemed to reverse the situation of sovereign and subject. He insisted on being absolute commander, not only of the Imperial, but also of the Spanish troops in Germany; he stipulated that the Emperor's son, Ferdinand,¹ should not appear in the army, still less hold any command in it, and that when Bohemia was recovered he should reside at Prague, under a Spanish guard of 12,000 men, till a general peace was effected. Wallenstein demanded as his reward an Imperial hereditary estate, together with many other rights and privileges. No Imperial pardon or reward was to be valid except it was confirmed by Wallenstein, and he alone was to have the bestowal of confiscated lands. The Duke and his private interests, particularly his lost Duchy of Mecklenburg, were to be considered and provided for in any general peace. In short, Wallenstein usurped some of his Sovereign's most important functions; yet, such was Ferdinand's necessity, he submitted with apparent cheerfulness to all his general's demands.

Before the end of May Wallenstein had driven the Saxons under Arnim from the greater part of Bohemia. Meanwhile Gustavus was pushing on his conquests. After a fruitless attempt on Ingolstadt, where his horse was shot under him, the Swedish King occupied Augsburg, and caused the citizens

Gustavus
Adolphus
enters
Munich.

¹ Förster, *Wallenstein*, S. 179.

to do homage to him; and he prized as one of his highest triumphs the restoration of Protestantism in this cradle of its infancy. He then entered Bavaria, where, however, he encountered a formidable resistance from the fanaticism of the peasantry, forming a strong contrast to the reception he had met with in other parts of Germany. Munich was entered May 17th, and the Elector Palatine, who accompanied the Swedes, had the transitory satisfaction of passing a brief time in the capital of his arch-enemy. Hence Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar was despatched with the van towards Tyrol. Vienna was in consternation; even Italy began to tremble. Wallenstein had now an opportunity to indulge his grudge against Maximilian, the principal author of his disgrace. The Duke of Bavaria found himself reduced to congratulate on his success the man whom he had so loudly denounced at Ratisbon, and to solicit his aid. Prague had been recovered early in May, and it would have been easy for Wallenstein to march into Bavaria; but he did not stir a foot till towards the end of June, and then on conditions the most humiliating to Maximilian. The Duke of Bavaria, who was in the Upper Palatinate with his army, was obliged to put himself under the control of Wallenstein. When they met at Eger all eyes were turned on two such enemies to note their bearing; and the inquisitive remarked that his Serene Highness the Elector had learned the art of dissembling better than the Duke of Friedland.¹ After the junction of their armies Wallenstein assumed the chief command. Gustavus, who had in vain endeavoured to prevent this junction, now hastened to seize Nuremberg, leaving Bernhard of Weimar and General Baner to protect his conquests in Bavaria and Upper Suabia. Nuremberg offered him many advantages both in a strategical and tactical point of view. He could easily communicate there with his allies both in North and South Germany, while the situation of the place rendered it easy of defence; and the town, with its immediate environs, was converted into one vast fortified camp, capable of sheltering 50,000 men. But Wallenstein, with equal tact, took up a position which neutralized all these advantages. On a height called the *Alte Feste*, a few miles north of Nuremberg, he also

Wallen-
stein's
camp.

¹ "Doch haben die *curiosi* vermerkt, dass Ihre Kurfürstliche Durchlaucht die Kunst zu *dissimuliren* besser als der Herzog gelernt."—Khevenhiller, B. xii. S. 24.

established a fortified camp, whence he infested the convoys and communications of the Swedes. Here the two great captains of the Thirty Years' War sat nine weeks watching each other. Wallenstein's forces were the more numerous; but, being mostly composed of raw recruits, he resolved to stand on the defensive. Gustavus, whose army, after calling in Duke Bernhard, Baner, and other generals, with their forces, amounted to the number mentioned, found difficulty in feeding them; and having in vain offered battle at the foot of the wooded height where Wallenstein was encamped, he was rash enough to attack the position; but after an assault which lasted ten hours, and in which every regiment in the Swedish army was successively engaged, he was repulsed with the loss of several thousand men (August 24th), and the capture of Torstenson, one of his best generals. In this affair the sole of Gustavus's boot was carried away by a cannon-ball. It was his first failure of any importance, and increased the reputation of Wallenstein. How critical the situation of the Swedish King was may be judged from the circumstance of his sending to Wallenstein proposals for peace; and the communications which passed between the two commanders on this occasion afterwards afforded the Court of Vienna a pretext for charging Wallenstein with having held a treasonable correspondence with Gustavus.¹ A fortnight afterwards (September 7th) Gustavus broke up from his intrenched camp, and again took the road to Bavaria, in the hope of inducing Wallenstein to follow him, and of thus saving Saxony. Maximilian separated from Wallenstein at Coburg, and marched to Ratisbon to defend his dominions, while Wallenstein proceeded into Saxony. Gustavus was preparing to besiege Ingolstadt, when he received a pressing message for assistance from the Saxon Elector, and immediately took the road through Nuremberg, sending his Queen with three brigades of infantry by Schweinfurt. They met at Erfurt towards the end of October. When Gustavus reviewed his army at this place, he found that he had only 12,000 infantry and 6,500 horse. He was never, indeed, desirous of large forces, and he was accustomed to say that all above 40,000 men were an incum-

Gustavus
proceeds
into
Saxony.

¹ Förster's *Wallenstein*, S. 190 f. The barbarity of the war is shown by Wallenstein's rejecting another proposal of Gustavus, that quarter should be given, as in the Netherlands. *Ibid.*

brance; while Wallenstein, on the contrary, had a maxim that the Deity favoured strong battalions.¹ But though Gustavus's force was small compared with that of his adversary, it must be remembered that the Swedish army was composed of veteran troops of the best description, including a large body of British soldiers. In the campaign of 1632 Gustavus had in his service six British generals, thirty colonels, and fifty-one lieutenant-colonels.²

The Elector of Saxony was in a critical situation. The Saxon army under Arnim was in Silesia when the Elector's territories were entered by Wallenstein's troops, who had occupied Leipsic before the approach of the Swedes. The march of the latter, however, had been so rapid that Wallenstein was astonished to hear they were at Naumburg early in November. Gustavus had taken a tender leave of his wife at Erfurt, apparently not without forebodings of his impending death. Wallenstein had no idea that he would be attacked at that advanced season: he was putting his troops into winter-quarters, and had detached Pappenheim to the Rhine with a large force, though with orders to seize Halle on his way; and he was at the latter place when he received an order from Wallenstein to rejoin the main body.³ The Swedes had advanced through Weissenfels to Lützen, and stood in battle array on the great plain which stretches from that place to Leipsic (November 16th). Wallenstein's infantry was drawn up in heavy masses to the north of the high road, the ditches of which had been deepened to serve as breastworks; his right wing rested on the village of Lützen and the windmills before it; his left stretched far along the plain, almost to the canal which connects the Elster and the Saal. It was on this side that Pappenheim was to join. To the left of the infantry were drawn up in strong squadrons Piccolomini's cuirassiers; on the right were also large masses of cavalry, and again more infantry; while at the extremities of each wing were posted the Croats. In front of the line, on the high road, was planted a battery of seven guns; the remainder of the artillery was spread along the front in an oblique direction

Battle of
Lützen.

¹ Harte, *Gust. Adolphus*, Introd. p. xxxviii.

² *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 210. On this subject see Burnet's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, p. 16 sqq. (ed. 1677).

³ The letter, stained with Pappenheim's blood, is preserved in the Archives of Vienna. Förster, *Wallenstein's Briefe*, B. ii. S. 273.

from the windmills. Wallenstein's strength has been variously estimated. He himself, in a letter to the Emperor after the battle, rated it at only 12,000 men, which is incontestably too low. It probably consisted of near 30,000 men. The Swedes were drawn up, as at Leipsic, in two lines; the infantry in each six deep; the cavalry on each wing, interspersed with platoons of musketeers. Gustavus himself led the right wing, consisting of six cavalry regiments, and was thus opposed to Piccolomini's cuirassiers; Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar commanded the left wing, also composed of six cavalry regiments. Behind the infantry were two regiments in reserve, under Henderson, a Scotsman. Such were the preparations for the BATTLE OF LÜTZEN.

After offering up a prayer, the Swedish troops sung Luther's hymn (*Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott*); and Gustavus then addressed them; while Wallenstein by his looks alone, and the sternness of his silence, gave his men to understand that he would either reward or punish them according to his custom.¹ Gustavus, after concluding his address, which was received with loud cheers and the clash of arms, cried out, as he raised his eyes to Heaven, "And now, my hearts, let us bravely on against our enemies! Jesu, Jesu, let us fight to-day for the honour of Thy holy Name!" which said, he drew his sword, and waving it over his head while he gave the word "Forwards!" he himself advanced in front of all his army.²

Death of
Gustavus
Adolphus.

Just at this moment Lützen was seen to be in flames; for Wallenstein, as a contemporary writer observes, usually marked his advance "like Jupiter in the poet, all in thunder and lightning, all in fire and tempest."³ The sun, which broke through the fog about ten o'clock, enabled the cannonade to begin. The Swedish infantry of the centre, led by Count Nils Brahe, passed the high road under a murderous fire, broke two columns of the enemy's infantry, and were attacking the third, when they were repulsed by the reserve and the cavalry. Gustavus now ordered a charge against the dark

¹ Richelieu, *Mém.* t. iii. p. 258. Richelieu's account of this battle is a literal translation of the Report sent by Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar to Louis XIII. It is also in the Appendix to Förster's *Wallenstein's Briefe*, B. ii. S. 336.

² *Swedish Intelligencer*, pt. iii. p. 127.

³ *Idem*, pt. ii. p. 238.

and threatening masses of the Imperial cuirassiers, clothed from head to foot in black armour; and putting himself at the head of the Smaaland horse, whose colonel had been wounded, he led the attack in person. His ardour carried him beyond his troops, and the fog again coming on, he got entangled, with two or three attendants, among the enemy's cuirassiers. His horse was shot in the neck, and a pistol ball having shattered his arm—for that day he wore no armour on account of a recent wound—he besought the Duke of Lauenburg to conduct him from the field. At this moment another shot brought him to the ground, and his horse dragged him some way by the stirrup. Lauenburg¹ fled; of the King's two grooms, one had been killed, the other wounded; the only attendant who remained with him was a German youth of eighteen, named Leubelfing, who died a few days after of some wounds he had received. In his last moments Leubelfing testified that as the King lay on the ground, some of the enemy's cuirassiers rode up and asked who he was? The youth, pretending not to know, replied, he supposed it was some officer; but the King made himself known, when a cuirassier shot him through the head; others gave him some sword thrusts, and stripped him to his shirt. Leubelfing was also wounded. The battle was still raging when Pappenheim came up with part of his cavalry. Soon after his appearance on the field, that commander was shot by Colonel Stål-hanske, who had just borne off from the fray the dead body of Gustavus.² The arrival of Pappenheim's troops served to prolong the struggle; but the Swedes, now under command of Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, enraged by the death of their King, fought with a fury and desperation which nothing could resist; after a struggle of nine hours Wallenstein's troops at last gave way, carrying away with them in their flight Pappenheim's infantry, which had come up about sunset.

Thus perished, in his thirty-eighth year, Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, the greatest Sovereign of his age.

His
character.

¹ It was universally believed by the Swedes, and has been asserted by some of their gravest historians, that it was the Duke of Lauenburg who shot the King; a story now rejected by the most competent inquirers.

² Geijer, B. iii. S. 235. Pappenheim died at Leipsic a day or two after of his wound.

That his expedition into Germany was partly prompted by a love of glory and conquest can scarcely be doubted; his incessant wars, the part which he personally played in them, his professed admiration of Cæsar and Alexander, show him animated with the spirit of a conqueror. But his best title to immortality is, that he set a limit to religious persecution; and it is for this, as a Swedish historian observes, that all mankind may reckon him among their heroes.¹

The Finnish cavalry, under Stålhandske, who had rescued the King's body from the field, brought it to the village of Meuchen, whence it was afterwards taken to Stockholm.

Wallenstein
retreats
into
Bohemia.

The account of the battle transmitted by Wallenstein to the Imperial Court, led Ferdinand to think that he had won the day. A *Te Deum* was sung at Vienna and other places "for the glorious victory at Lützen;" while at Madrid popular festivals were given in honour of the occasion, and a melodrama, in which the death of Gustavus Adolphus was represented, was performed a dozen times before the Court. But meanwhile the reputed conqueror was glad to shelter himself behind the mountains of the Bohemian frontier. After the battle, Wallenstein found it necessary to evacuate Saxony in all haste; and, leaving garrisons at Leipsic, Plauen, Zwickau, Chemnitz, Freiburg, Meissen, and Frauenstein, he reached Bohemia without further loss, and put his army into winter-quarters. After his arrival at Prague, he caused many of his officers to be put to death for their conduct at Lützen, among whom were several who belonged to families of distinction, nor would he allow them to plead the Emperor's pardon. A few he rewarded. The harshness of his proceedings increased the hatred already felt for him by many of his officers, and especially the Italian portion of them, who gave him the name of *Il Tiranno*, or the Tyrant.²

Oxenstiern
directs the
affairs of
Sweden.

Axel Oxenstiern, the Swedish Chancellor, succeeded, on the death of Gustavus Adolphus, to the supreme direction of the affairs of Sweden in Germany, and was invested by the Council at Stockholm with full powers both to direct the army and to negotiate with the German Courts. Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar retained the military command of the Swedish-German army, divisions of which were cantoned from the

¹ Geijer, B. iii. S. 247 sqq. and *Hist. delle Guerre di Ferdinando II.* lib. v. p. 157 (ed. 1640).

² Förster, *Wallenstein*, S. 209.

Baltic to the Danube, After driving the Imperialists from Saxony, Bernhard had hastened into Franconia, where the Bishoprics of Würzburg and Bamberg, according to a promise of Gustavus, were to be erected in his favour into a secular Duchy; but, after taking Bamberg, his assistance was invoked by General Horn, on the Upper Danube.

One of the first cares of Oxenstiern was to consolidate the German alliance; and, in March, 1633, he summoned a meeting at Heilbronn of the States of the four Circles of the Upper and Lower Rhine, Franconia, and Suabia, including of course deputies from Nuremberg, Strassburg, Frankfurt, Ulm, Augsburg, and other Imperial cities. The assembly was also attended by ambassadors from France, England, and Holland; and on April 9th was effected the Union of Heilbronn. Brandenburg and Saxony stood aloof; nor was France, though she renewed the alliance with Sweden, included in the Union. The French minister at Heilbronn assisted, however, in the formation of the Union, although he endeavoured to limit the power of Oxenstiern, to whom the conduct of the war was intrusted. At the same time the Swedes also concluded a treaty with the Palatinate, now governed, or rather claimed to be governed, by Louis Philip, brother of the Elector Frederick V., as guardian and regent for the latter's youthful son, Charles Louis. The unfortunate Frederick had expired at Mainz in his thirty-seventh year, not many days after the death of Gustavus Adolphus. He had always rejected the hard conditions on which the Swedish King had offered to restore him; nor were those now accepted by Louis Philip much more favourable. Swedish garrisons were to be maintained in Frankenthal, Bacharach, Kaub, and other places; Mannheim was to be at the disposal of the Swedes so long as the war should last; and the Palatinate, besides paying a heavy contribution, was to be subject to all the burdens incident to the quartering of troops. Moreover, he was to give equal liberty to the Lutheran and Calvinist worship.

Union of
Heilbronn,
1633.

After the junction of Duke Bernhard with Horn, the Swedish army—for so we shall continue to call it, though composed in great part of Germans—endeavoured to penetrate into Bavaria; but the Imperial General Altringer, aided by John von Werth, a commander of distinction, succeeded in covering Munich, and enabled Maximilian to return to his

Wallenstein's
secret negotiations.

capital. The Swedish generals were also embarrassed by a mutiny of their mercenaries, as well as by their own misunderstandings and quarrels; and all that Duke Bernhard was able to accomplish in the campaign of 1633, besides some forays into Bavaria, was the capture of Ratisbon in November. Meanwhile Wallenstein, engrossed with building and planting at Gitschin and his other estates in Bohemia, had not crossed the frontiers of that Kingdom; and hostilities there were terminated by a truce which he concluded with Arnim, the commander of the Saxon army, June 7th, 1633; a step taken both by Wallenstein and Arnim without the knowledge of their respective Courts. Wallenstein also made proposals of peace to the Swedes, by whom, however, they were regarded only as a blind;¹ and he entered into secret negotiations with the Marquis of Feuquières, the French ambassador extraordinary to the Protestant Powers of Germany, in order to obtain the help of France in procuring for himself the Crown of Bohemia. These negotiations have been represented by Wallenstein's defenders as only a snare laid for the French Court; but, however this may be, it is certain that Louis XIII. promised to assist him in his ambitious plans.² After the capture of Ratisbon, Wallenstein thought proper to display at least an attempt to aid Maximilian by entering the Upper Palatinate; but though he drew Duke Bernhard and Horn from Bavaria, the lateness of the season prevented any operations of importance, and after a little while he returned into Bohemia.

His officers
oppose his
resignation.

Wallenstein's unauthorized negotiations with Arnim, the Swedes, and Feuquières, had naturally roused the suspicion of the Imperial Court; a suspicion strengthened by the rigid capitulation he had exacted on reassuming the command, and by the jealousy he had displayed in excluding from any share of power the Emperor's son Ferdinand, King of Hungary. Wallenstein had moreover a strong party against him both

¹ Chemnitz, ap. Förster, *Wallenstein*, p. 214. Chemnitz, the Swedish historiographer, wrote his work under the inspection of Oxenstiern.

² See *Memoire envoyé par le commandement du Roi au Sr de Feuquières, touchant l'affaire résolue au conseil d'état à Chantilly le 16 Juillet, 1633*, ap. Menzel, B. iv. S. 120. See also for these negotiations, Siri, *Mém. recondite*, t. viii. p. 42 sqq.; Barthold, *Gesch. des grossen deutschen Krieges*, B. i. Kap. v.; Förster, *Wallenstein's Briefe*, B. iii. S. 401 ff.

at the Court of Vienna and in his own army, consisting of the priests and Jesuits who directed the Emperor's conscience, and of the Spanish, Italian, and Belgian officers who were subjects of Spain. He had given offence to the Emperor by neglecting his express orders, and returning into Bohemia instead of attempting to retake Ratisbon. Hence Ferdinand II. formed the resolution of depriving Wallenstein of his command; though he seems to have adopted it with reluctance, as he first of all sent Count Questenberg, whom he knew to be acceptable to Wallenstein, to endeavour to persuade him to march into Bavaria. Through his secret agents, Wallenstein was acquainted with all the Emperor's plans. In order to defeat them, he called early in January, 1634, a council of his officers at Pilsen; and through Field-Marshal Ilow, who was entirely devoted to him, he obtained from them an opinion that it would be impossible to march into Bavaria before the spring. But Wallenstein went further than this. He told his colonels he was so disgusted with the Court of Vienna that he was determined to lay down his command; a communication which was received with great dissatisfaction and anger. Most of his officers had spent all their substance in raising men and fitting themselves out; they looked to maintain themselves by the war; and if Wallenstein resigned they could expect no compensation from the Emperor. Led by Ilow and Count Terzka they protested against such an act; they reminded their commander of his promise to stand by them; and on the 12th of January they signed a paper requiring Wallenstein to keep the army together, and promising to stand by him to the last drop of their blood. This document bore the signatures of forty superior officers, including Piccolomini's, who was no friend of Wallenstein.

It was this step, of which Wallenstein seems afterwards to have repented, that proved his destruction. Wallenstein, as we have said, had many enemies. Not among the least of them was Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, who had advised Wallenstein's dismissal in December, and who, towards the end of January, sent to the Emperor a detailed account of Wallenstein's practices, at the same time beseeching him to adopt some "sudden and heroical resolution."¹ The coun-

Ferdinand II. decrees his destruction.

¹ Förster, *Wallenstein*, S. 257.

sellors by whom Ferdinand was surrounded, and who possessed his ear, offered the same advice with perhaps more effect. Such were the Archbishop of Vienna, the Emperor's confessor Lamormain, Counts Eggenberg, Trautmannsdorf, and Schlick, the Emperor's son Ferdinand, and others. The Spanish ambassador Oñate was one of the foremost in these counsels; he blamed the Emperor's delays, and suggested that a dagger or a pistol ball would at once untie the knot.¹ It was some time before Ferdinand's confidence in his general could be shaken. At length secret commands were issued to Piccolomini and some of the officers known to be dissatisfied with Wallenstein, to withdraw from him the obedience of the troops, to incite them against him, and to transfer the command to General Gallas. On the 24th of January the Emperor issued a declaration, releasing the officers and soldiers of Wallenstein's army from all allegiance towards their general, and granting a pardon to all who had signed the document at Pilsen, with the exception of the Duke of Friedland himself, Ilow, and Terzka. This document was despatched to Gallas, with orders to seize the Duke of Friedland and bring him to some place where he might be put on his defence; and at all events to get possession of his person, whether dead or alive. Piccolomini, whom Wallenstein held to be his best friend, as the astrologers had cast the same nativity for both, and who could therefore, it was thought, the more easily deceive him, was ordered to enter, in a friendly manner, the town of Pilsen, with 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 dragoons, and there to lay snares against the Duke's life.² One of the worst features in this transaction is, that the Emperor, with extraordinary hypocrisy, continued a friendly correspondence with Wallenstein for three weeks after he had thus secretly deposed and outlawed him; and in his last letter, dated February 13th, 1634, only twelve days before Wallenstein's murder, particularly recommends Bohemia to his care, to the Crown of which country he was accused of aspiring.

Wallenstein
deposed
from the
command.

It was not till the date of this last letter that Gallas issued public orders to the army no longer to obey the commands of Wallenstein, or his adherents Ilow and Terzka, but instead

¹ Förster, *Wallenstein*, S. 253, note.

² *Insidiare alla vita del duca.*—Siri, *Mem. recond.* t. viii. p. 50.

of them either his own, or those of Altringer and Piccolomini. Soon afterwards (February 20th) orders came from Vienna to employ force, and secret instructions were issued for the confiscation of Wallenstein's possessions: the grounds assigned being Wallenstein's and Terzka's "perjured rebellion and flight to the enemy," though they were still at Pilsen. On that very day Wallenstein had drawn up a document to explain and justify that of January 12th, in which he declared that it was not his wish that anything should be undertaken against the Emperor, or to the detriment of religion. This paper was signed by himself and many of his adherents. He also required that his officers should continue to respect him as their generalissimo, as he had received no dismissal from the Emperor, and the order of Gallas he could only regard as an act of mutiny against himself. A day or two after he despatched two envoys to Vienna to assure the Emperor "that he was ready to lay down the command, and to appear and answer the charges against him wherever the Emperor might appoint." But both these envoys were arrested by Piccolomini and Diodati, and Ferdinand did not receive the message till Wallenstein was already dead.¹

When Wallenstein heard of the schemes against his power and his life—for he opened all secrets with a golden key—he resolved to proceed to the fortress of Eger, near the Bohemian frontier, where he thought he should be safer, as its commandant was one Gordon, a Scotchman, colonel of a regiment of his devoted friend and adherent Count Terzka. When tidings reached Wallenstein that the Imperial declaration had been openly posted at Prague, he left Pilsen, February 22nd, travelling in a litter on account of his gout, and taking with him only a few troops. The generals of the Spanish-Italian party, Piccolomini, Gallas, Maradas, Caretto, Marquis of Grana, and others, now broke up on all sides in order to follow him, and Diodati and Tavigni entered Pilsen without opposition. Wallenstein arrived at Eger on the afternoon of the 24th February with a few coaches and baggage-waggons, accompanied by his brother-in-law Count Kinsky, Terzka, Plow, and Captain Neumann. He was escorted by two troops of cavalry, and 200 dragoons, commanded by

Conspiracy
against
Wallen-
stein.

¹ Förster, *Wallenstein*, S. 274.

Colonel Butler, an Irishman, who was already prepared to betray him, and who gave Piccolomini notice of all Wallenstein's movements.

At Eger, Wallenstein was lodged in the house of the burgo-master on the market-place, while apartments were assigned to Terzka, Kinsky, and their wives, in the back building which usually forms part of a German dwelling. On his road from Pilsen Wallenstein had determined to go over to the enemy, as his only chance of safety, and he had opened communications to that effect with Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar; which, however, from a suspicion of his real intentions, were coldly received. On arriving at Eger, he immediately opened himself to Gordon and his lieutenant Leslie, another Scot, as well as to Butler, whom he thought to be his friends, and especially Gordon, to whom he had given a regiment only a little while before; he acquainted them with his intention of going over to the enemy, and left them to decide whether they would follow him or not. Gordon and Leslie promised to stand by him; but when, in Gordon's apartments in the Castle, Butler acquainted them with the Imperial declaration, and the orders of Gallas and Piccolomini, and painted to them in glowing colours the rewards and the booty they would obtain by betraying their general, they swore, with drawn swords, to kill the Duke of Friedland and the friends who accompanied him, and resolved that the assassination of the latter should be accomplished at a carnival feast to which they were to be invited by Gordon on the following evening.

Murder
of Wallen-
stein's
friends.

Butler engaged in the plot Fitzgerald, the major of his regiment, with Captains M'Donald, Birch, Brown, and Devereux, and Pestaluz, a captain in Terzka's regiment; and Butler it was who also arranged all the details of the murder. At six o'clock on the evening of February 25th, Terzka, Kinsky, Ilow, and Neumann went together in a coach to Gordon's apartments in the Citadel, where they were received by the three conspirators; the drawbridge was raised behind the unsuspecting guests, who soon found themselves seated at a well-furnished table. In an apartment adjoining the banqueting-room was stationed Captain Devereux with twenty-four dragoons; in another, Major Fitzgerald, with six more. The servants of the guests had been sent away; the dinner was ended, when about eight o'clock a preconcerted

signal was given to the soldiers. On a sudden Fitzgerald, followed by his men, enters at one door, crying, "Long live the House of Austria!" on the other side appears Devereux, shouting, "Who's for the Emperor?" At these words Butler, Gordon, and Leslie seize each a candlestick, and drawing their swords, cry, *Vivat Ferdinandus!* The dragoons now rush upon their victims; Kinsky falls first under their blows; Plow is stabbed in the back while taking his sword from the wall; Terzka alone succeeds in reaching his weapon. Planting himself in a corner of the room, he challenges in vain his treacherous hosts to mortal combat; two of the dragoons he cuts down, breaks Devereux's sword, and, protected by his doublet of elk-leather, holds out so long that his assailants take him to be, like Wallenstein, "frozen," or wound-proof. At last he falls. Neumann, after receiving some wounds, escaped from the apartment, but, not knowing the watchword, was cut down by the guard. Butler, Gordon, and Leslie then took counsel together, and resolved to complete their plot by the murder of Wallenstein, who had remained at his quarters in the town. The execution of it was intrusted to Devereux and six of his dragoons. Butler undertook to guard the burgomaster's house and the market-place; Leslie meanwhile administered to the main guard, who belonged to Terzka's regiment, a new oath of fidelity to the Emperor, and a hundred dragoons patrolled the streets to prevent any attempt at rescue.

It was midnight. Wallenstein had been engaged in surveying the stars, and considered the constellations favourable; but Seni, his astrologer, was of opinion that the danger was not yet over. The Duke had not long retired to bed when he was startled by a noise in the street. Devereux had obtained admission into the house on pretence of delivering a message to Wallenstein, but was stopped in an ante-room by a valet, who begged him not to disturb his master's sleep. Devereux demanded with threats the key of the Duke's apartments; and, on the valet delaying, burst open the door by force, and, followed by his dragoons, entered the Duke's room. Wallenstein, alarmed by the shrieks of Terzka's and Kinsky's wives, who had just learnt the murder of their husbands, had rushed to the window to inquire of the sentinel the cause of the tumult: at the entrance of the soldiers he turned, and, as Devereux exclaimed, "You must die!" received,

Wallenstein
assassin-
ated, 1634.

with outstretched arms, a mortal thrust in his bosom. Next came the scene of plunder. Wallenstein's property was divided like the spoils of a conquered enemy. Piccolomini seized his military chest, his plate waggons, his horses, his baggage; and from the proceeds every man in the army was presented with two ducats. His officers vied with one another in endeavouring to obtain some part of the Duke's vast confiscated possessions; and among them Caretto, Marquis of Grana, distinguished himself by the meanness and impertinence of his solicitations.

The
Emperor
rewards the
murderers.

The death of Wallenstein is one of the basest political murders ever committed by the House of Austria. Not that we hold, with his German biographer, that Wallenstein was innocent up to the last moment of his flight from Pilsen. We think, on the contrary, that from the Duke's whole conduct after his resumption of the command—the arrogant capitulation which he extorted, his constant refusal to obey orders from Vienna, his inactivity in Bohemia during the campaign of 1633, his negotiations and treaties with the Saxons, Swedes, and French,¹ and, lastly, the paper which he procured his generals to sign at Pilsen—the only inference which can be drawn is, that, as he had clearly set himself above the duties and obligations of a subject, it was his intention to extort from the Emperor, either through fear or force, the position of a Sovereign and independent Prince of the Empire, if not the Crown of Bohemia. But, on the other hand, it must be recollected that such designs had not been proved against him; and that Ferdinand was bound to observe the greatest forbearance and generosity towards a man to whom he had twice owed the safety of his Crown. Yet he not only sanctioned Wallenstein's assassination, but also publicly praised and rewarded his murderers. Leslie, who brought him the report of what had been done at Eger, was made a chamberlain, a captain in the Imperial body-guard, and colonel of a regiment belonging to King Ferdinand. Butler was also received at the Hofburg with distinguished marks of approbation and honour; Ferdinand gave him his hand, caused the Archbishop of Vienna to place a gold chain

¹ The Emperor appears to have been informed by the Duke of Savoy of Wallenstein's negotiations with the French Court; although, for political reasons, no mention was made of them in the Emperor's justification of the proceedings taken against Wallenstein.

round his neck, created him a Count and chamberlain, and presented him with some of the estates of Terzka in Bohemia. Colonel Gordon obtained the possessions of Count Kinsky. Devereux, who had stabbed Wallenstein with his own hand, received from the Emperor a gold chain, a present in money, and some confiscated property in Bohemia. Yet, while Ferdinand was thus rewarding the instruments of his crime, his superstition made him tremble for the consequences which it might have entailed on his victims; and, tortured by pangs of conscience, he paid for 3,000 masses to redeem the souls which he had hurried into Purgatory unprepared, and with all their sins upon them! ¹

A modern writer ² has endeavoured to clear Ferdinand's memory from the charge of having authorized Wallenstein's murder. His principal argument is, that the Imperial warrant, directing Wallenstein to be taken *dead or alive*, is not extant. It is hardly probable that Piccolomini and the rest of Ferdinand's officers should have taken upon themselves to authorize such a deed without his sanction, as he himself would surely be suspected of it. It is a damning fact that Ferdinand rewarded with honours and emoluments the actual murderers, thus rendering himself an accomplice after the fact, and showing that he must have considered it desirable beforehand; so that, in a moral point of view, the difference in criminality is small.

Reflections
on his con-
duct.

The confusion which necessarily ensued in the Imperial army upon the murder of the generalissimo and his companions, and the apprehension of many other officers, was at length calmed by the dismissal of all suspected commanders, and by giving the dissatisfied regiments three months' pay; after which, the Emperor's son, King Ferdinand, was appointed to the chief command, but under the direction of General Gallas. Neither the Swedes nor the Saxons took advantage of the conjuncture to attempt anything against the Imperialists; and indeed the whole campaign of 1634 offers but few events of importance besides the battle of Nördlingen. The Saxons under Arnim, in conjunction with the Swedes under Baner, gained a victory at Liegnitz, May 13th, which enabled them to invest Prague; but Arnim, who was negotiating with

Campaign
of 1634.

¹ Förster, *Wallenstein*, S. 307.

² Hurter, *Wallenstein's vier letzte Lebensjahre*, xvtes Buch.

the Emperor for a peace, at length refused to assist Baner, and both generals evacuated Bohemia. Duke Bernhard had been more intent on establishing his Duchy of Franconia than on the progress of the war; the Swedish general Horn had obtained some successes in Suabia, and was preparing to invade the Austrian dominions when he was compelled to join Bernhard, threatened by the forces of Maximilian. The Duke of Bavaria assembled in the spring an army at Ingolstadt, which, under Altringer and John von Werth, took Straubing, and proceeded to lay siege to Ratisbon, where they were joined by the King of Hungary and Gallas with the Imperial forces. Bernhard and Horn, after taking Landshut by storm, where Altringer was killed (July 22nd), marched to the relief of Ratisbon; but, hearing on the road the fall of that place, they again separated, while the Imperial army proceeded to Donauwörth. Bernhard employed himself with marches and counter-marches between the Danube and the Main, while Horn proceeded towards Tyrol, to dispute the passes with a Spanish army that was marching from Italy into the Netherlands. He had scarcely, however, reached Füssen, when the news that the Imperialists, after storming Donauwörth, were threatening Nördlingen, obliged him again to join Bernhard. This movement having left the passes free, the Spaniards entered Bavaria, and formed a junction with King Ferdinand under the walls of Nördlingen. They were under the command of the Cardinal-Infant Ferdinand, brother of Philip IV. of Spain, who was proceeding into the Netherlands as successor of Isabella Clara Eugenia in the government. He had the reputation of being the only Spanish Prince, since Don John of Austria, who possessed any military talent.

Bernhard and Horn, after uniting their armies at Günzburg, had also summoned from the Upper Rhine another force under the Rheingraf Otto Louis; but, as Nördlingen was hard pressed, Bernhard, against the advice of Horn, determined on an immediate battle, although their army was not only considerably less numerous than that of the enemy, but also inferior in quality. The engagement commenced on the evening of the 6th of September, and lasted through the following day, when the Spaniards, who had taken only a passive part on the first day, lending a vigorous assistance to the Imperialists, the Swedes were completely defeated, with the loss of 12,000 killed, 300 standards, 80 guns, and 6,000 prisoners,

among whom were Horn and three other generals. Duke Bernhard narrowly escaped the same fate. He was hotly pursued to Göppingen, where he met Otto Louis and his division.

The BATTLE OF NÖRDLINGEN was from its consequences one of the most important and decisive in the Thirty Years' War. Bernhard of Weimar's contemplated Duchy of Franconia vanished altogether from his sight, and instead of being an independent Prince, he found himself compelled to enter the service and accept the pay of France. Thus French influence acquired an immense ascendancy in Germany; and it will be necessary to cast our eyes a little while on the affairs and policy of that country.

The death of Gustavus Adolphus was not altogether unwelcome to Richelieu, who had at first willingly conceded to the Swedish King the leading part in the great political drama; but the success of Gustavus had been more rapid and complete than was agreeable to the French Court; his appearance on the Rhine had created both jealousy and alarm; and after his passage of the Lech, Louis XIII. had observed to the Venetian minister, "It is time to set a limit to the progress of this Goth." When Gustavus fell at Lützen, Richelieu determined to seize the direction of the affairs of Europe. His policy was, to maintain the alliance between the Swedes and the German Protestants, to endeavour to effect a reasonable accommodation between them and the Princes of the Catholic League, and thus compel the Emperor to treat for a peace through the mediation of France. Maximilian of Bavaria was to be dazzled with the prospect of the Imperial Crown, in order to which it was necessary to prevent the election of a King of the Romans during the Emperor's lifetime. Another object was to prevent the Dutch from making a separate peace with Spain.

Besides his schemes against the Emperor, Richelieu was busy with plans for extending the French frontier towards the Rhine. Charles Duke of Lorraine had again given trouble, and was again reduced, and on the 25th of September, 1633, Louis XIII. entered Nanci, his capital. Richelieu now announced to the Duke that it was the King's intention to re-establish the French monarchy in all its primitive grandeur, and with that view to annex Lorraine, as part of old Austrasia, to France. Early in 1634 the French occupied the whole of

The French
set foot in
Alsace.

Parlia-
ment of
Austrasia.

Lorraine, crossed the Vosges mountains, and obtained a permanent footing in Alsace. A new Parliament, called the Parliament of Austrasia, was erected at Metz, the jurisdiction of which was intended one day to extend to the Rhine. Thus was broken the last effectual link which connected the Three Bishoprics (Metz, Toul, and Verdun), with the Empire; appeals, which had been formerly made to the Imperial Chamber at Spire, were now heard by the new Parliament, and everywhere the Germanic eagle was displaced by the *fleurs-de-lis*.¹ Charles of Lorraine, finding resistance hopeless, abdicated the Duchy in favour of his brother, the Cardinal Nicholas Francis; and, betaking himself with what soldiers still remained to him into the service of the Emperor, became, instead of a bad Sovereign, a valiant adventurer and skilful leader. From this period the house of Lorraine long remained fugitive.

Affairs of
the Netherlands.

The Duke's sister, Margaret, having escaped into Belgium, had married the King's brother, Gaston Duke of Orleans, then an exile in that country; which so offended Louis that he instituted a suit against the marriage. Both Gaston and his mother had retired into Belgium after Richelieu's triumph over his political enemies, and Mary de' Medici was received at Brussels with all the solemnity due to an illustrious ally. She was never again to enter France. Spinola, who had been called to Italy in 1629, was succeeded in military command in Belgium by Count van den Berghe, a good soldier. After Spinola's departure, Prince Frederick Henry of Orange resolved, by way of compensation for the loss of Breda, to take Herzogenbusch (Bois-le-Duc). The siege, which occupied the years 1629 and 1630, is among the most remarkable of that period in a military point of view; but the most important circumstance about it is, that by engaging the whole Spanish forces in the Netherlands, it facilitated the conquests of Gustavus Adolphus. Although Van den Berghe came to the relief of the town with 30,000 foot and 10,000 horse, he could not prevent its surrender. He was soon after superseded in the command by the Marquis of Santa Croce, who neither possessed much ability nor enjoyed the confidence of the Spanish Netherlands. Hence Frederick Henry, whose mili-

¹ See *Mercure Fr.* t. xix. p. 106 sqq.; Richelieu, *Mémoires*, t. viii. p. 466 (Petitot).

tary operations were supported with the greatest ardour by the Dutch, although deputies were appointed by the States to accompany all his movements, was able to find sufficient employment for the Spaniards. In the years 1629 and 1630 the Dutch had about 120,000 men in the field, who were partly supported by voluntary contributions. After the capture of Herzogenbusch, the Prince directed his operations chiefly against Gelderland, and in 1632 he took Maestricht. While the Prince was besieging this place, Santa Croce, with 15,000 men, not venturing to attack his fortified camp, Cordova, with 20,000 men, was recalled from Germany to Santa Croce's help; yet such was the strength of Frederick Henry's position that the Spaniards with their combined forces declined to assault it. The Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia now besought the help of Pappenheim, at that time in Westphalia with a considerable army. Pappenheim led his veterans against the Dutch trenches, August 7th; but the Spaniards, offended by his boast that he would relieve Maestricht, would give him no aid, and coolly looked on while he suffered two bloody repulses on the same day. The Infanta, who was much beloved by the Belgians, and showed as much consideration for them as the Court of Madrid would allow, died in December, 1633, after which Belgium again fell under the direct government of Spain.

Richelieu had been for some time desirous of entering into a close alliance with the Dutch; and in April, 1634, Charnacé had brought about a treaty by which France engaged to pay a subsidy of two million livres per annum, besides supporting a body of auxiliary troops. This treaty was followed in February, 1635, by a still more effective alliance, offensive and defensive, based on Richelieu's plans for extending the French frontier. Each of the contracting parties engaged to invade the Spanish Netherlands with an army of 30,000 men. The Belgians were to be invited to form themselves into a free and independent State; but a strip of land upon the coast, two leagues in depth, from Gravelines to Blankenberghe, besides the towns of Namur and Diedenhofen, was to be ceded to France; while the United Provinces were to have Hulst and the Pays de Waes, Breda, Geldern, and Stephanswend. If the Belgians persisted in their allegiance to Spain they were to be conquered and partitioned: France was to have Luxemburg, Namur, Hainault, Artois, Flanders, and the

French and
Dutch
alliance.

Cambrésis; while the share of the United Provinces was to include Antwerp, Brabant, and the coast of Flanders, north of Blankenberghe. England was to be invited to neutrality.¹

Treaty
between
France and
Sweden,
1635.

About the same time Richelieu had also made a new treaty with the Swedes. The defeat at Nördlingen, and the knowledge that the Elector of Saxony was endeavouring to effect a peace with the Emperor, left the Swedes no alternative but to throw themselves into the arms of France; and in September envoys were sent to Paris to request that the 6,000 men so often promised should be despatched to their aid, and to urge the French King to break openly with Spain and Austria. Oxenstiern at length procured a treaty to be executed at Paris in November, 1634, by which France engaged to maintain 12,000 men, Germans or others, under the command of a German Prince, and to keep a body of troops on the Rhine, to act in case of need. France was to hold all fortresses conquered on the right bank of the Rhine, from Breisach to Constance; on the left bank she was to have Alsace and its fortresses, and the free use of the bridge at Strassburg, till a future peace. The Swedes, in the places which they should conquer, were not to molest the Catholics in the exercise of their religion.² By this treaty, France obtained a seat and vote in the Heilbronn League. Oxenstiern was very much dissatisfied with it, because Bennfelden was given up without payment, and still more because the generalissimo of the allied armies was to be a German Prince, a circumstance which lowered his position in the Empire; he therefore refused to ratify it, dismissed Löffler, the plenipotentiary who had made it, and early in 1635 sent Hugo Grotius to Paris to procure that it should be altered. Grotius having failed in his mission, Oxenstiern himself proceeded into France in April, and had an interview with Louis XIII. at Compiègne. Richelieu, however, would not consent to make any material alteration in the terms, and all that the Swedish Chancellor could obtain was that a fresh treaty should be drawn up for his signature.³ Oxenstiern arrived in Sweden in the summer of 1636, and never returned into Germany.⁴

In these transactions Richelieu endeavoured to avoid an

¹ Dumont, t. vi. pt. i. p. 80.

² *Ibid.* p. 79.

³ *Ibid.* p. 88.

⁴ Geijer, *Gesch. Schwedens*, B. iii. SS. 305, 342.

open breach with the Emperor, though the French and Imperial troops could not avoid coming into collision. In December, 1634, Marshals La Force and Brezé compelled the Imperialists and Bavarians to raise the siege of Heidelberg, defended by a Swedish garrison. In January, 1635, the Imperialists took Philippsburg from the French, and two months after a Spanish corps surprised Trèves, cut the French garrison to pieces, and carried off the Elector, Philip Christopher, a prisoner to Antwerp. This event had important consequences. Richelieu immediately demanded the Elector's liberation from the Cardinal-Infant, the new Governor of the Netherlands, and on his delaying, on the pretext that he must await the orders of the Imperial and Spanish Courts, war was openly declared by a French herald at Brussels, May 26th, 1635. So haughty was the tone adopted by France that the Spanish ambassador at Paris departed without taking leave, while the French ambassador at Madrid was arrested. On the 6th of June Louis XIII. published a declaration of the motives which had led to this rupture, a prelude to the colossal strife that was to follow. The Elector of Trèves, who, like several other Princes of the Empire, had been put under the Imperial ban for admitting French troops into Ehrenbreitstein and other places, was finally carried to Vienna, where he was kept a prisoner ten years. Another grave cause of offence was his having named Richelieu his coadjutor, a step by which that Cardinal might have eventually secured a vote as one of the Imperial Electors; but his nomination was disallowed by Pope Urban VIII.

War
between
France and
Spain.

In Germany, meanwhile, affairs had assumed a new face by the Peace of Prague. After the overthrow at Nördlingen, the only Swedish force consisted of Baner's army, encamped at Leitmeritz in Bohemia, which immediately broke up and proceeded into Thuringia. The difficulties of Baner's position were increased by his disputes with the Elector of Saxony. John George had been long wavering, and the disaster at Nördlingen determined him to go over to the Emperor. Negotiations were opened at Pirna; better terms were offered to the Elector than he might reasonably have anticipated, particularly the permanent cession to him of Lusatia, which had been made over to him as a pledge in 1621; preliminaries were signed at Pirna in November, 1634, and on May 30th, 1635, was definitely concluded the PEACE OF PRAGUE. By

Peace of
Prague,
1635.

this treaty it was agreed, with regard to the affairs of religion, that all *mediate* possessions of the Church secularized before the Peace of Passau should remain to the Protestants for ever, and that all other mediate possessions, and such *immediate* ones as had been confiscated since the Peace of Passau, should remain to them for forty years, before the expiration of which term a mixed commission was to settle how such property should be proceeded with at the end of it. The immediate nobility and the Imperial cities were to be allowed the Lutheran worship, a privilege, however, granted only to Silesia among the lands subject to the House of Austria. With regard to political affairs, the hereditary right of the House of Austria to the Bohemian Crown was acknowledged; Lusatia was ceded to the Elector of Saxony as a Bohemian fief, and his son was invested with the administration of Magdeburg; Pomerania was to be made over to the Elector of Brandenburg, in case he acceded to the treaty; a general amnesty was to be granted; all leagues were to be dissolved, and the paramount authority of the Emperor was to be everywhere acknowledged. It was also agreed that the Duke of Lorraine should be re-established in his Duchy. The Emperor could not be induced to make any concessions respecting the Palatinate or the Bohemian Protestants.¹ By an express article, the Elector was to assist in expelling the Swedes from Germany, and thus Saxony was pledged to a war. Such was the return made by John George to the Swedes, whose King had fallen in defending his Electorate!

The Swedes
refuse to
accede to it.

This peace brought a storm of obloquy on John George; he was accused of sacrificing the family of the unfortunate Palatinate to the vengeance of the Emperor, and of arming Germany against the Swedes, who had thrice been the means of saving his dominions. Nevertheless by degrees all the Princes and States of the Empire acceded to the treaty of Prague, with the exception of Hesse-Cassel and the other Calvinist States. The Swedish Government also desired peace, and Oxenstiern, whom they accused of opposing it, while Richelieu was reproaching him with having lost all courage for the prosecution of the war,² was placed in a most difficult situation. The Swedish States, however, assembled in the autumn of 1635, recognized

¹ The treaty is in Londorp, t. iv. p. 468; Dumont, t. vi. pt. i. p. 88.

² *Mémoires*, t. viii. p. 352; t. ix. p. 5.

the impossibility of acceding to the Treaty of Prague. The Elector of Saxony, who had made it, was, after all, only a subject, and any treaty that Sweden should enter into must, with regard both to her dignity and safety, be made directly with the Emperor. But Oxenstiern's proposals to the Court of Vienna remained unanswered.¹

Towards the end of May, 1635, the French, after defeating the Spanish forces under the Piedmontese Prince of Carignano, who had endeavoured to obstruct their passage, formed a junction with the Dutch at Maestricht, when the Prince of Orange took the command in chief of the allied forces. The campaign, however, went against the Allies. The brutality displayed by both armies at the taking of Tirlemont exasperated the Belgians, who, instead of listening to the offers of independence, threw themselves into the arms of the Spaniards. The Peace of Prague enabled the Emperor to send Piccolomini, with 20,000 men, into Belgium; another division threatened the Isle of Batavia; and the allies, instead of conquering Belgium, found themselves reduced to defend Holland. The Imperialists, under Gallas, were also successful on the Rhine. The French, pressed on all sides, were compelled to abandon the Middle Rhine, the course of the Main and Neckar, and even of the Lower Moselle and Sarre, without fighting a single great battle.

French
Campaign
in Belgium.

The French campaign in Italy was not more successful. A league had been concluded at Rivoli, July 11th, 1635, between Louis XIII. and the Dukes of Savoy, Parma, and Mantua, for the invasion and partition of the Milanese.² The share of each Power was to be proportioned to the troops furnished, but France promised to renounce her portion in consideration of receiving some places in Piedmont. In general, however, the alliance of France was regarded in Italy with suspicion. Pope Urban VIII. was not disposed to join a league against the House of Austria, and had, as we have seen, shown himself hostile to Richelieu in the matter of the coadjutorship of Trèves. Venice also excused herself, and Genoa was too closely connected by commercial and other interests with Spain to undertake anything against her. The Duke of Rohan, who commanded some French detachments in the Valtellina, distinguished himself against the Austrians; but

Campaign
in Italy.

¹ Geijer, B. iii. S. 302 f.

² Dumont, t. vi. pt. i. p. 109.

the projected invasion of the Milanese proved a failure, chiefly through the tardiness and want of zeal of the Duke of Savoy.

Invasion
of France.

The Italian campaign in 1636 was not more glorious or important, while France herself was threatened by the progress of the Imperialists. In September King Ferdinand issued from his head-quarters at Breisach a manifesto in which he detailed the acts of hostility committed by Louis XIII. against the Emperor, and expressed his determination to invade France, but promised to protect the inhabitants.¹ In pursuance of this declaration, Gallas and the Marquis of Grana entered French Burgundy, in October, with 20,000 men, and took Mirebeau; but they were soon compelled to retreat, chiefly through the lateness of the season and the nature of the country, with great loss of artillery and baggage. At another point the Spanish Imperialists, under Piccolomini and John von Werth, had been more successful. They had crossed the Somme in August, and invaded Picardy; bands of Croats and Hungarians wasted the country between that river and the Oise with fire and sword, and filled Paris itself with terror. The roads from that capital swarmed with fugitives. Richelieu was loudly accused of having provoked the war; of his alliance with heretics; of leaving Paris unfortified while he was building his "Palais Cardinal." But the Imperialists, instead of marching on Paris, contented themselves with taking Corbie, whence, however, they were driven by a large force quickly raised by Richelieu. Their retreat was unmolested. In the same year the Spaniards made an abortive descent on Brittany. In the south they were more successful, where, crossing the Bidasoa, they occupied Hendaye, St.-Jean de Luz, and Socoa; but these places they were forced to evacuate in 1637 by their ill success in Languedoc. In the same year Rohan was driven from the Valtellina.

Bernhard
enters the
French
service.

With regard to Germany, Duke Bernhard had concluded, in October, 1635, a treaty with the French Court, by which Louis XIII. engaged to pay him annually 4,000,000 livres for the maintenance of an army of 12,000 infantry and 6,000 cavalry. This was the commencement of the short but brilliant career which ended with Bernhard's death in 1639. His motives, in the situation of Germany at that time, could

¹ Londorp, t. iv. p. 572.

only have been selfish. He hoped to cut out for himself, amidst the chaos of confusion, a Kingdom, or at least a Duchy. By a secret article of his agreement with France he was to be invested with the Landgraviate of Alsace, together with Hagenau, and all the rights before possessed in Alsace by the House of Austria. On the other hand he agreed not to molest the Catholics in their religion.

After the Peace of Prague, Baner found himself in a critical situation, especially as the truce with Poland was on the point of expiring. King Wladislaus VII., who had ascended the throne of Poland on the death of Sigismund III., in 1632, seemed inclined for war, and the Swedes might thus be exposed to another enemy in their rear. The danger was enhanced by the suspicion that Denmark would also resort to arms; but Christian IV. was propitiated by ceding the Archbishopric of Bremen to his second son, Duke Frederick, who had been appointed coadjutor of the deceased titular Archbishop. Baner, to secure himself, determined on marching into Mecklenburg, and amused the Elector of Saxony two months with negotiations respecting his accession to the Treaty of Prague. He was relieved, in September, from any danger on the side of Poland by the prolongation for twenty-six years of the truce, effected through French mediation, assisted by ambassadors from England, Holland, and Brandenburg, on condition of the Swedes restoring West Prussia. Torstenson, the Swedish commander in Prussia, was thus enabled to aid his countrymen with reinforcements. Baner had marched through Magdeburg to the Aller, where, on the west, he was threatened by Duke George of Lüneburg, on the south by the Saxons under Baudis. After Baner had concluded his pretended negotiations, the Saxon Elector appeared personally in his army, and directed Baudis to attack the Swedes. This is usually called the "Saxon Blood-Order." Baudis, however, could not prevent Baner from crossing the Elbe; and the Swedes even obtained a superiority over the Saxons by defeating, under the conduct of General Ruthven, a Scotchman, a Saxon division of 6,000 or 7,000 men near the little Mecklenburg town of Dömitz. Baner himself also gained some advantages at Goldberg and Kiritz; and, being joined by Torstenson and his troops from Prussia, he not only compelled the Saxons to evacuate Pomerania, but also found himself enabled to recross the Elbe. Early in 1636 he

Baner
defeats the
Saxons.

pressed forwards as far as Halle, and even sent parties over the Saale. The Saxons remained quiet till joined towards the end of March by the Imperial General Hatzfeld; when they attacked and defeated the Swedes near Magdeburg, and forced that town to capitulate. This reverse, however, was soon compensated by a decisive victory. John George attempting to form a junction with the Brandenburg general Klitzing, Baner attacked and completely defeated him at Wittstock (October 4th), capturing all the Elector's artillery, and even his baggage and plate. John George fled precipitately to Meissen. Instead of pursuing him, Baner first proceeded into Hesse, where the Landgrave, William V., had been gaining some advantages. William had been persuaded by his wife, Amelia Elizabeth, hereditary Countess of Hanau, a zealous Protestant, to break off all negotiations for acceding to the Peace of Prague, and to unite with Alexander Leslie, a Scotch general trained in the service of Gustavus Adolphus, who commanded, in Lower Saxony and Westphalia, some regiments raised with French money. In December Baner proceeded through Erfurt into Saxony, defeated the Saxons at Eilenburg early in January, 1637, and captured several of their regiments; when all the men and some of the officers entered the Swedish service. After a vain attempt upon Leipsic, Baner crossed the Elbe and took up a position at Torgau; but here he was surrounded by the enemy, and for nearly five months lay in a most critical situation.

Death of
Ferdinand
II.

This period was marked by the death of the Emperor Ferdinand II., who expired at Vienna, February 15th, 1637, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. He was, in the main, a well-meaning man, but led into an ill-policy, arbitrary and illegal proceedings, and even crime, by the bigoted and sophistical ideas instilled into him by priests and Jesuits, and by mistaken notions of his duty as a Sovereign. He was succeeded by his son, Ferdinand III., who had been elected King of the Romans in the cathedral of Ratisbon only a little while before (December 22nd, 1636), by the Electors of Saxony, Brandenburg, Mainz, Cologne, and Bavaria; but as the Elector of Trèves was then a prisoner, and as the son of the Palatine Frederick was also absent from Ratisbon, France and Sweden took occasion to protest against the validity of the proceedings.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA

FROM his success at Nördlingen, Ferdinand III. was thought to possess military talent, and it was hoped that he would take the personal command of the army; but on pretence of gout, he delegated that office to men like Gallas, Götz, Hatzfeld, Piccolomini, and others, who were far inferior to Duke Bernhard and Baner. The Thirty Years' War was to linger on more than another decade; but, after the disappearance from the scene of its earlier heroes, Tilly, Wallenstein, Gustavus Adolphus, its incidents possess but little interest, except for the military student. Its history assumes a most repulsive character. The war seems to be carried on merely for its own sake, without any great or even definite object, only to gratify the cupidity or ambition of a few leaders, excited by the subtle and selfish policy of France. Count Peter Brahe, who was despatched by the Swedish government into Germany to help Oxenstiern, describes in his *Journal* the German Princes as divided among themselves and pursuing only their own private ends, while both high and low were seduced by French gold.¹ Two armies in the pay of foreign Powers, yet composed for the most part of Germans, traversed the Empire in its breadth and length, plundering and maltreating their own countrymen, and reducing their fatherland to the condition of a wilderness. Even among the Swedes, the strict discipline at first maintained by Gustavus Adolphus had been gradually declining, and after the defeat at Nördlingen vanished altogether.² Such were the crimes and cruelties they committed, that

Horrors of
the Thirty
Years' War.

¹ Apud Geijer, B. iii. S. 294.

² See the complaints of the Elector of Mainz in Röse, *Herzog Bernhard der Grosse von Sachsen-Weimar*, B. ii. S. 9.

Depopulation of
Württemberg.

Baner himself confessed it would be no wonder if the earth should open, and, by a just decree of Providence, swallow up the wretches who were guilty of them.¹ The effects on property and population may be estimated from a statement regarding the Duchy of Württemberg alone, which between the years 1628 and 1650 is computed to have lost 118,742,864 florins, without reckoning the damage accruing from the uncultivated and desert condition of the lands. With regard to the population, 345,000 men are said to have perished between the years 1634 and 1641, and the Duchy, which had formerly contained about half a million inhabitants, counted in the last-named year scarce 48,000! Even six years after the Peace of Westphalia, when many of those who had fled into Switzerland had returned, there were 50,000 households less than there had been previously to the battle of Nördlingen.²

The Swedes
in Germany.

In June, 1637, Baner succeeded in extricating himself from his entanglement at Torgau, in gaining Pomerania, and crossing the Oder in the face of Gallas and a far superior force. At Schwedt, he was joined by General Wrangel, father of the celebrated Charles Gustavus Wrangel; but the Swedes had great difficulty in maintaining themselves in Pomerania in this and the succeeding year. The Imperial cause was partially successful in the south. In June, Ehrenbreitstein was compelled to capitulate by John von Werth. The French had before lost Coblenz, and now retained nothing in the Electorate of Trèves. The year 1638 opened under more favourable auspices for France. Duke Bernhard, breaking up in January from his winter-quarters in the Jura mountains, seized Laufenburg, Seckingen, and Waldshut, three of the Forest Towns under the rule of Austria, and laid siege to

¹ Geijer, B. iii. S. 306, Anm.

² Spittler, *Gesch. Württembergs*, ap. Schlosser, xiv. 283. The sad condition of Germany, from the effects of the Thirty Years' War, has been described by Paul Gerhardt, a contemporary poet :

“Das drückt uns Niemand besser
In unsre Seel' und Herz hinein,
Als ihr zerstörten Schlösser
Und Städte voller Schutt und Stein ;
Ihr vormals schönen Felder
Mit frischer Saat bestreut,
Jetzt aber lauter Wälder
Und dürre, wüste Heyd'.”

—Gerhardt's *Leben und Lieder*, S. 704.

Rheinfelden, the fourth. John von Werth, arriving with a large force to its relief, compelled Bernhard to retire upon Laufenburg (February 28th). In the fight which took place on this occasion, the Duke of Rohan, the son-in-law of Sully and illustrious head of the French Protestants, who was serving as a volunteer in Bernhard's army, received a wound which caused his death in a few weeks. Only three days after his defeat, Bernhard of Weimar, with unparalleled boldness, led his army against the Imperialists, who were still engaged in celebrating their victory, and were totally unprepared for an attack. In the battle of Rheinfelden, March 3rd, Bernhard captured all the enemy's artillery, baggage, and standards, besides the terrible John von Werth himself, and three other Imperial generals. The conquest of Rheinfelden, Freiburg, and the whole of the Breisgau was the fruit of this victory. Having been reinforced by several thousand French under Count Guébriant and Viscount Turenne, Bernhard laid siege to Breisach; which, however, held out till December 19th. After its fall, Bernhard marched into Franche-Comté, reduced the fortresses, and put his troops into winter quarters.

Louis XIII. and Richelieu looked upon these conquests as their own. Bernhard, it was imagined, might be bought; he wanted two million livres for a new campaign, and he was invited to Paris to treat on the subject. All France was then *en fête* for the birth of a Dauphin, afterwards Louis XIV. After twenty-two years of marriage, Anne of Austria had given birth to a son, September 5th, 1638. On the occasion of the Queen's pregnancy, Louis XIII. realized a project he had previously formed, and put his Crown and Kingdom under the protection of the Virgin Mary, by what has been called "*le Vœu de Louis XIII.*" The grand festivals that were to take place in honour of this event were held out to Bernhard as an inducement to visit Paris; but Grotius, then Swedish ambassador at the French Court, warned him not to come. Bernhard sent in his stead Erlach, a patrician of Bern, to whom he had intrusted the command of Breisach. Erlach was not exempt from that passion for French gold which then raged like a contagion among the Swiss; he consented to become a spy on Bernhard, and promised that after the Duke's death all his conquests should be made over to France. The contemplated contingency was

Birth of
Louis XIV.,
1638.

not long in arriving. Early in June, 1639, Bernhard took boat up the Rhine, intending to proceed by Neuenburg in the Breisgau, and thence into the interior of Germany. Although seized with a violent sickness at Hünningen, he persisted in continuing his journey, and died on board the vessel, July 18th, at the early age of thirty-six. He had had a misunderstanding, though not exactly a quarrel, with Richelieu on the subject of Breisach; whence arose a suspicion of his having been poisoned, for which, however, there was no foundation.¹ Richelieu wanted possession of that fortress, while Bernhard wished to make it the capital of his projected principality of Alsace and the Breisgau; which he contemplated enlarging by a marriage with Amelia Elizabeth, widow of the Landgrave William of Hesse.

Bernhard, by his will, had intrusted the administration of his conquests to Count Otho William of Nassau, the Baron von Erlach, and Colonels Ehen and Rosen, and had instructed these generals, who called themselves the "Directory" of the Weimar army, to offer them to a prince of the House of Weimar: but Erlach conspired with Guébriant to defeat the Duke's intentions; a project the more easy, as none of Bernhard's brothers would accept the command. Soon after Bernhard's death, Ehen and Nassau went to Worms, and Rosen proceeded against the Forest Towns; their enterprises were successful, but meanwhile they had left Erlach and Guébriant in Neuenburg, where they could carry on their intrigues with the French government undisturbed. Towards the end of September, the Weimarian generals having been again driven out of the conquests they had made, and being further embarrassed by the demands of their unpaid mercenaries, Erlach persuaded his brother Directors to leave everything to him. On the 9th of October a treaty was concluded with France, by which the Weimarian generals were to receive 2,100,000 livres per annum, and to retain the gifts made to them, and the governments intrusted to them, by Duke Bernhard.² On the other hand, they agreed to serve the French King, who was to name the commandants of Freiburg and Breisach, the garrisons of which places were to be half French,

Death of
Bernhard
of Weimar,
1639.

The
Weimarian
Generals
bought by
France.

¹ See on this subject Röse, *Bernhard*, B. ii. S. 328 ff., and Barthold in the *Gesch. des grossen deutschen Krieges*, Th. ii. 206, Anm. The Austrian and Spanish courts were also suspected.

² Dumont, t. vi. pt. i. p. 185.

half German; and though the Directory retained the right of nominating the commandants in other places, yet both these and their soldiers were to take an oath of fidelity to Louis. The better part of Suabia and Alsace was, in fact, sold to France; and Breisach, Bennfelden, Freiburg, the Forest Towns on the Rhine and throughout the Breisgau, hoisted the French colours. Thus France profited by the death of Duke Bernhard, as she had done before by that of Gustavus Adolphus, and inherited the fruit of exploits which she had indeed paid for, and in some degree partaken, but which she can hardly be said to have performed.

The object of Duke Bernhard's fatal journey was to form a junction with the Swedes, who were marching southwards from Mecklenburg and Pomerania in order to deliver a decisive battle. The latter of these principalities they had reduced to the condition of a Swedish province. Baner, after receiving reinforcements from Sweden in the autumn of 1638, as well as a supply of French gold, began to march southwards, while Gallas retreated before him, and the Saxons were vanquished in every encounter. After an abortive attempt on Freiburg, in March, 1639, Baner defeated the Saxon army at Chemnitz, and captured and destroyed Pirna. Hence he pressed on into Bohemia, and appeared before Prague, May 20th; but the position of the Imperialists on the White Hill appearing too strong to be assaulted, he retired to Leitmeritz till October; during which period his divisions wasted the country around, and penetrated into Silesia and Moravia.

Campaign
in Germany.

Meanwhile Hatzfeld had destroyed in Westphalia an army raised with English money, and commanded by Charles Louis and Rupert, sons of the unfortunate Elector Palatine, neither of whom had any military talent. Hatzfeld surprised them in the spring of 1639 at Vlotho, routed their army, and captured Rupert; Charles Louis, who lost everything, and almost his life into the bargain in crossing the Weser, escaped to Minden; whence he afterwards retired to London. After the death of Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, Charles I. and the Prince of Orange, the nearest kinsmen of the young Elector, supplied him with money to purchase the services of the Weimar army, and in October, 1639, Charles Louis took the route through Paris in order to join it, travelling under the assumed, but easily to be detected, name

of Louis Stuart. Richelieu hearing of his designs, of which he had foolishly talked, caused him to be apprehended at Moulins and carried to Vincennes; and it was not till the following spring that he obtained his liberation through the intercession of Amelia Elizabeth of Hesse.

Richelieu's
intrigues in
England.

England, engaged at that period in working out her domestic liberty, could not assume in the wars and negotiations of the Continent a part befitting a great nation. The treaty between France and the United Provinces, which assigned so large a portion of the coast of Flanders to the former country, was clearly most inimical to English interests; and Richelieu had despatched the Count of Estrades into England in 1637, to assure himself of the neutrality of the English Court. Charles I. answered proudly and worthily, that not only would he not consent to such an appropriation of the Flemish coast, but that he would do all in his power to hinder it; and to Richelieu's offer to support him against his subjects, he replied, that his own authority and the law of the land sufficed. Queen Henrietta, now reconciled with her husband, was also found impracticable; and Richelieu, nettled by the rejection of his offers, declared that they should repent it within a year. He determined to revenge himself by exciting the malcontents both in England and Scotland. As early as 1635 the Scots appeared to have reckoned on the support of France in opposing episcopacy. Richelieu employed one of his chaplains, a Scot named Chambers, as a go-between with the Covenanters, and when the disturbances broke out in Scotland, the French ministers were unable to conceal their joy.¹ In 1640 the secretary of the Covenant made a formal demand for the mediation of Louis XIII., which was, however, declined. The paper fell into the hands of the English ministry, but Louis XIII. disclaimed all knowledge of it, although both Richelieu and Bellièvre, the French ambassador in England, were privy to the demand. Richelieu had similar connections with the English malcontents, and Charles I. always regarded him as one of the chief promoters of his misfortunes. There was a French party in the House of Commons, which informed Richelieu of all that passed there regarding France; and the five members whom Charles

¹ Brienne, *Mémoires*, t. ii. p. 51; Siri, *Memorie recondite*, t. viii. p. 800; Dalrymple, *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 47; Mazure, *Hist. de la Révol. de 1688*, t. iii. note 4^{ème}, p. 402 sqq.

had intended to apprehend are said to have absented themselves on a hint which they received from the French ambassador.¹ Charles revenged himself by giving an asylum to Richelieu's former friend, but now bitter enemy, Mary de' Medici, the Queen-Mother, who, after her expulsion from France, had hired an assassin to kill the Cardinal. Mary, hurt by the little attention paid to her by the Spaniards, quitted Belgium in the summer of 1638 for Holland, and afterwards went into England, where Queen Henrietta interested herself in favour of her mother. But Louis XIII. would listen to the intercessions neither of the Dutch States nor Charles I. for her return into France, and could only be brought to offer her a retreat in Italy. Driven from England by the rebellion, Mary de' Medici again retired to Holland, and thence to Cologne, where she died, July 3rd, 1642.

Richelieu, whose fate it was, though a zealous advocate of the Romish Church and of absolute power, to be the supporter from political motives of heretics and rebels, adopted the same line of conduct in Spain as he pursued in England. The affairs of the Spanish peninsula were now assuming a threatening aspect; Biscay and Catalonia, the only provinces which continued to retain any independence, were ripe for revolt; while the Kingdom of Portugal was meditating the expulsion of the Spanish House and the restoration of the line of Bragança; a revolution accelerated by the intrigues of Richelieu.² Biscay and Catalonia shared neither the burdens nor the advantages of Castile; they were exempt from the heavy taxes of that country; but they were also excluded, as "foreign," from the commerce of the East and West Indies. Catalonia, with its dependencies Rousillon and Cerdagne, recognized the King of Spain only as Count of Barcelona, and even required that its envoys at Madrid should be treated on the same footing as foreign ambassadors. Philip IV. and his minister, the Count-Duke Olivarez, resolved to put an end to this anomaly. In the French campaign in Rousillon in 1639, the Catalans had at first displayed some zeal and alacrity. Salces having been taken by Condé, the States of Catalonia levied an army of 12,000 men to co-operate with

Disturbances in Spain.

¹ Mazure, *ibid.* p. 429. Cf. *Despatch* of Richard Browne, November 29th, 1641, ap. Ranke, *Französ. Gesch.* B. ii. S. 505.

² Weiss, *L'Espagne depuis Philippe II.* t. i. p. 376.

the Spaniards under the Marquis de los Balbases for its recovery, which was ultimately effected. But this success was to cost Spain dear. During the long siege—the French commandant did not surrender till January, 1640—the Catalan ranks were thinned by desertion, and the municipal bodies were negligent in furnishing the military supplies. Olivarez seized the occasion to assert the authority of Spain. The Count de Santa Coloma, Viceroy of Catalonia, was directed to make the men proceed to the wars, even if it were necessary to send them bound hand and foot; the very women were to be compelled to carry on their backs corn, oats, and straw, for the use of the army. Articles required for the soldiery were seized without scruple; even the beds of the gentry were carried off. Matters became still worse after the recapture of Salces. The King's army was distributed in winter-quarters in Rousillon and Catalonia, and the soldiers, a mixture of Castilians, Neapolitans, and Irish, were permitted, nay encouraged, to oppress the inhabitants in every possible way. As if they had been in an enemy's country the villages and even the churches were plundered.

Revolt of
Catalonia.

It was not likely that such things should be tamely borne by a people in so rude a state of civilization as the Catalans, among whom it was then a common practice for a man who had got into difficulties to turn *bandolero*, or brigand: such a step was called “going to the mountains,” and was far from being regarded as a disgrace. Olivarez, at the very moment when the population were thus exasperated, ordered the Viceroy to levy 6,000 soldiers in Catalonia, who, contrary to the privileges of that country, were to be sent abroad; they were to be taught that they must serve his Catholic Majesty in all quarters, like other subjects of the monarchy. At this order the amusements of the carnival were suspended at Barcelona; the Bishop of Gerona excommunicated the perpetrators of the violences and sacrileges which prevailed in his diocese; remonstrances were addressed to the cabinet of Madrid, but were received with coldness and contempt. The Viceroy seized a sum of money belonging to the city of Barcelona wherewith to pay his troops, and imprisoned the magistrates who expostulated with him. But the day of vengeance was at hand. Annually, towards Corpus Christi day, it was customary for large bands of mountaineers to repair to Barcelona and its neighbourhood to hire themselves

for the harvest—a rude, half-savage race, with knives at their girdles and huge horns hanging from their shoulder-belts. As is usual in large gatherings, fury spreads as by contagion; one man animates another; they enter Barcelona, the burgesses join them, and every Castilian and foreigner that can be found is massacred. The Viceroy himself, while hastening to the port to embark on board ship, falls by the hand of an assassin (June 7th, 1640). All the towns of Catalonia and Rousillon followed the example of the capital; the King's army was dispersed, and of all the great towns succeeded only in retaining Perpignan.

The Court of Madrid was naturally filled with alarm; especially as symptoms of insubordination were manifesting themselves, not only in Portugal, but even in Aragon, the Balearic islands, and Naples. Olivarez resorted to negotiation and finesse. The Duke of Cardona, who succeeded Santa Coloma as Viceroy, was instructed to conciliate the Catalans; but he speedily died of fear and vexation. The Bishop of Barcelona was then appointed, and in conjunction with Olivarez endeavoured to divide and amuse the Catalans. But the three deputies-general of the Catalan States, who formed the executive government of the province, were not to be duped. They entered into negotiations with the French Court, through Espenan the Governor of Leucate, respecting the establishment of a Catalan Republic under the protectorate of France. As a last step the Cortes of Catalonia, assembled at Barcelona in September, intreated Philip IV. to recall the troops which occupied Rousillon, and to countermand those that were on the march to the Lower Ebro; and they declared that they would defend their liberties to the death. But, instead of listening to the envoys of the Cortes, Philip caused them to be arrested; and the Catalans forwarded to all Christian States and Princes a manifesto setting forth the injuries they had received. The war had begun in Rousillon, where the insurgents were assisted by Espenan, the French Governor of Leucate. Du Plessis Besançon, the envoy of Louis XIII., in a public audience with the Catalan deputies at Barcelona, alluded to the bonds which had anciently united their principality to the Crown of France; and on the 16th of December, 1640, a formal treaty was entered into, and hostages given for the due execution of it by the Catalans. Louis XIII. engaged to find officers to

Treaty of
France with
the Cata-
lans.

command the Catalan troops, and to provide, at the expense of that province, an auxiliary corps of 8,000 men. Catalonia and its dependencies bound themselves never to participate in any attack upon France, and to open their ports to the French fleets.¹

Portugal.

At the same time was consummated another event of still greater importance to the Spanish monarchy—the Portuguese revolution. Sixty years of union with Spain had only rendered Portugal more dissatisfied, because by the House of Austria she had been systematically oppressed, humiliated, and impoverished. None of the promises made by Philip II. were observed. The commerce of Portugal with the Indies had been taken from her and removed to Cadiz; her military and commercial marine had been almost annihilated in the wars provoked by the Spanish cabinet; while taxes raised on the first necessities of life were applied to the building of the palaces of Buen Retiro and Galinero near Madrid. Nevertheless, Portugal had long suffered in silence till the strife beginning between France and the House of Austria opened a prospect of redress. Relations had been established between the French Court and some leading Portuguese as early as 1630; and the revolution would probably have broken out long before but for the feeble and irresolute character of John Duke of Bragança, whom the Portuguese patriots destined for the throne, as the representative of their ancient Kings. An insurrection had actually occurred in 1637, when the insurgents proclaimed the Duke of Bragança, the grandson of him who had contended with Philip II. for the throne of Portugal (Vol. II. p. 272), for their Sovereign; but John, who had no inclination to risk his life and the large possessions still left to him, fled to escape the Crown that was thrust upon him.

Revolution
in Portugal.

The rebellion in Catalonia was the immediate cause of the Portuguese revolution. Portugal was then governed by Doña Margaret of Savoy, grand-daughter of Philip II. and dowager Duchess of Mantua, as Vice-Queen; but it was her secretary, Michael Vasconcellos, who actually directed the government. He and Diego Suarez, another Portuguese, who resided at Madrid with the title of Secretary of State, both men of infamous character, had disgusted the Portu-

¹ Dumont, t. vi. pt. i. p. 196.

guese by their insolence and extortion. Towards the end of 1640 an order had arrived from the Spanish Court, directing the Duke of Bragança and the principal nobles of Portugal to march against the Catalans. The Portuguese resolved to imitate them instead. Pinto Ribeiro, major-duomo of the Duke of Bragança, a man of courage and talent, was the principal leader of the insurrection. Pinto had for some time been endeavouring to incite the nobles, and he organized the revolt almost without his master's knowledge. He was well seconded by the Duke's Spanish wife, Doña Luisa de Guzman, sister of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, a lively and courageous lady. Pinto gave the signal for insurrection by firing a pistol in the royal palace at Lisbon on the morning of December 1st, 1640. The confederates, who had flocked to the palace at an early hour, now began the work of liberation, and being helped by the townspeople, soon overpowered the German and Spanish guard. In the tumult none distinguished himself more than a priest, who, with crucifix in one hand and sword in the other, now exhorting his friends, now cutting down his foes, cleared the way wherever he appeared. Several of the Spanish ministers were slain. Vascancellos, who had hid himself in a closet under a heap of papers, was despatched with a pistol shot and some sabre cuts, and his body thrown out of window. The cry then arose: "The tyrant is dead! Liberty and Dom John for ever!" The Vice-Queen, who was arrested and kept as a hostage, was compelled by threats to order the Spanish commandant of the citadel to surrender; and the success of the insurrection being thus assured, a message was despatched to the Duke of Bragança at Villaviciosa to require his presence at Lisbon. He entered that capital in the very same equipage that had been provided for his journey to Madrid, whither he had been invited by Philip IV. Never was revolution of equal importance conducted more quietly, speedily, and successfully. It seemed as if John IV. ascended the throne of his ancestors in the regular course of succession. He was immediately proclaimed in the other towns of the Kingdom; the Portuguese colonies in India and Brazil, where the small detachments of Spanish troops could offer no effectual resistance, followed the example of the mother-country, and Ceuta, in Morocco, was the only settlement which Spain succeeded in retaining. The Portu-

John IV.
ascends the
Portuguese
throne.

guese Cortes, which assembled at Lisbon in January, 1641, confirmed the title of King John IV., and echoing the voice of liberty raised by the Dutch half a century before, asserted the inherent right of mankind to depose a tyrannical Sovereign, even were he legitimate, and not, like the King of Spain, a usurper.¹

Portuguese
alliances.

John IV. hastened to contract alliances with France and the Dutch Republic, each of which Powers promised to furnish him with twenty ships of war. England and Sweden also recognized the new King of Portugal, but contented themselves with entering into commercial treaties.² The rebellion in Catalonia caused the success of that in Portugal. The whole disposable force of Spain, consisting of some 20,000 men under the Marquis de los Velez, the new Viceroy, had been despatched towards the frontier of Catalonia; and as the disturbances in that country, on account of its vicinity to France, were considered the more important, the troops were not recalled. The progress of Los Velez was marked by fire and blood. Xerta and Cambrils were taken and destroyed, together with their inhabitants; Tarragona was then invested, and as the Catalan army had been dispersed, Espenan, who had marched to its relief with 4,000 French, was glad to save his own force as well as the town by a capitulation. The Catalan revolution would have been crushed in the bud, but for the energy of Claris, canon of Urgel, and of the French envoy, Du Plessis Besançon. When the Spanish forces appeared before Barcelona, Claris exhorted the citizens rather to bury themselves under the ruins of the town than submit to the butchers of their brethren; while the French envoy organized the means of defence with wonderful quickness and skill, and sustained the courage of the Barcelonese by the promise of speedy and abundant succour from France. In the minds of the Catalans the dejection of fear had been succeeded by the fury of despair. Everybody, even the monks, flew to arms; and the insurgents cut off the last hope of pardon, by converting the alliance with France, concluded the preceding month, into a treaty of permanent

Catalonia
united to
France.

¹ On this Revolution see Giov. Batt. Birago Avogaro, *Hist. della disunione del Regno di Portogallo dalla corona di Castiglia*; Vertot, *Révolutions de Portugal*; Weiss, *L'Espagne depuis le règne de Philippe II. jusqu'à l'avènement des Bourbons*.

² Dumont, t. vi. pt. i. pp. 202 sqq. 214 sqq.

union with that country (January 23rd, 1641).¹ Baffled at Barcelona, Los Velez seized Tarragona, which he succeeded in maintaining against the French by defeating their fleet. For this defeat Richelieu banished to Carpentras the archbishop-admiral, Sourdis, and threatened to put him on his trial; whilst, on the other hand, Philip IV. imprisoned his admiral, Ferrandina, for not having destroyed the French ships!

Spain, during this period of domestic rebellion and revolution, was almost equally unfortunate in her foreign wars. In the campaign of 1688, indeed, the French had only doubtful success both in south and north. In Artois they were forced to raise the siege of St. Omer, but succeeded in taking the little town of Renti, and in Picardy they recaptured Le Câtelet; while in the south, where they had invested Fuenterrabia, they were entirely defeated and compelled to recross the Bidasoa. But by way of compensation a French fleet destroyed a Spanish one at Guetaria. In the following year the French were again unsuccessful in Artois, though victory attended their arms at Rousillon. The severest loss, however, which the Spaniards sustained in 1639 was the destruction by the Dutch of their fleet, the greatest which they had sent to sea since the Invincible Armada. The Spanish admiral, seeking refuge from the Dutch on the Kentish coast, was attacked, in neutral waters, under the very eyes of Admiral Pennington; nor could Charles do more than complain and accept an apology. In 1640 the French, besides their successes in Piedmont, where they took Turin, captured Arras, the capital of Artois, and long the rampart of the Netherlands against France. The inhabitants stipulated in their capitulation for the maintenance of the Artesian Parliament and States, exemption from the *gabelle*, or salt tax, and the proscription of Protestantism. In the following year the affairs of the Netherlands were not marked by any important event except the death of the Cardinal-Infant Ferdinand, who expired November 9th, 1641, of an illness caused, or at all events aggravated, by the fatigues of the war. Son and brother of two Kings remarkable for their

The Dutch capture the Spanish fleet, 1639.

Death of the Cardinal-Infant Ferdinand, 1641.

¹ Dumont, t. vi. pt. i. p. 197 sqq. By this treaty Catalonia remained united almost twelve years with France. In strange contrast with articles breathing republican freedom, the Catalans stipulated for the maintenance of the Inquisition, subject to that of Rome! (*Art. iii.*)

incapacity, Ferdinand had distinguished himself in the defence of Belgium both by military and political talents of the first order. He was succeeded at Brussels by Don Francisco de Mello, an active and able captain.

Affairs of
Germany.

Meanwhile in Germany the Swedes under Baner had been compelled, in the spring of 1640, to evacuate Bohemia, and to retreat through Saxony into Thuringia; and in May they formed a junction at Erfurt with the Weimarian army under the Duke of Longueville and Marshal Guébriant. The Swedish cause looked now more prosperous, as Amelia Elizabeth, the widow of the Landgrave William V. of Hesse-Cassel, and at that period one of the most remarkable rulers of Germany, had, after two years of hesitation and negotiations with the Court of Vienna, resolved again to appeal to arms. The Landgrave her husband had in 1636 been put under the ban of the Empire, and his possessions had been confiscated; the States of his own dominions were against him; he was compelled to become a fugitive in Holland and Germany, while Hesse became the prey of the Imperial soldiery. In the midst of these misfortunes he died (September, 1637), leaving his widow the guardian of their eldest son William, then eight years of age, and Regent of Hesse. That principality had been made over by the Emperor to the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, and, to avoid the evils of war, the Landgravine's Council, as well as the Hessian States, and Melander, who commanded her army, pressed her to accede unconditionally to the Peace of Prague. But Amelia Elizabeth, who hated the Saxon Lutherans as much as she did her Imperial and Catholic enemies, would listen to no terms that did not place her Calvinist subjects on the same footing as the Protestants belonging to the Confession of Augsburg: she retired for a year into Holland, and afterwards, by protracting the negotiations with the Emperor, secured for a time the peace of her dominions. During this period she was her own minister and secretary, for Melander, who had been her adviser as well as her general, went over to the Imperialists, and nobody could tell what her conduct would be. In the autumn of 1639 the Landgravine united her forces with those of Duke George of Lüneburg. Duke Augustus of Wolfenbüttel and other Guelph Princes afterwards acceded to this little League; but they agreed not to join the Swedes, except in case of extreme necessity.

This necessity arose when the Imperial generals Piccolomini and Hatzfeld threatened to attack the Swedes in Thuringia. The Emperor had now deprived Gallas of the chief command, and given it to his brother the Archduke Leopold William, who, as Piccolomini was always at his side, proved more fortunate than most ecclesiastical generals. Leopold, who was Bishop of Passau and Strassburg, Archbishop of Olmütz, and claimant of the Bishoprics of Magdeburg and Halberstadt, though not exempt from that love of strong drink which was the failing of the age, had at least the appearance and reputation of sanctity. So remarkable was his asceticism and chastity that he denied himself the smell of flowers, and could scarce endure the presence even of his sisters; hence his father attributed a peculiar efficacy to his prayers, and gave him the name of "Angel." It was by command of Leopold that Piccolomini and Hatzfeld, uniting their scattered divisions, had gradually driven Baner into Thuringia. Baner approached Piccolomini near Saalfeld; but his position was too strong to be attacked, and the hostile armies went into winter-quarters without anything important having been done.

The
Archduke
Leopold
William.

In mid-winter Baner persuaded Guébriant to assist him in a bold attempt to carry off the Emperor from Ratisbon. Baner, having been joined at Neustadt, on the Orla, by 6,000 of the Weimarian army, and a few hundred French cavalry, after a masterly march through the Upper Palatinate which completely deceived the Imperialists, appeared unexpectedly before Ratisbon, January 17th, 1641, in which city a Diet was holding to debate the conditions of a general peace. Ferdinand III. displayed great presence of mind on the occasion; he adopted excellent measures of defence, and, to show his contempt of the enemy, went out hunting with his usual state: a piece of bravado, however, which he had nearly cause to rue; for some of the Swedes, who had passed the river, seized a great part of his splendid equipage, and it was with some difficulty that he himself escaped. Ratisbon was saved by a sudden thaw, which prevented Baner crossing the Danube with the bulk of his army, and compelled him to a precipitate retreat; in which, as the roads were bad and the pursuit hot, the Swedes suffered much. Baner, however, succeeded in reaching Halberstadt, where he shortly after died (May 10th). It was said that he and two or three more of

Baner
attempts
to surprise
Ratisbon.

the Protestant generals had been poisoned by a French monk ; but his death seems to have been hastened by one of those terrible carouses then in fashion, held at Hildesheim in the preceding October. Of three other partakers in those orgies, Christian of Hesse and Otho of Schaumburg died in the following November, Duke George of Lüneburg in April. Baner, whose health was already declining, was so prostrated by the debauch that he was half dead when he appeared before Ratisbon.

Accession of
the "Great
Elector."

The Elector George William of Brandenburg, the brother-in-law of Gustavus Adolphus, who had made so contemptible a figure in the Thirty Years' War, had also died in December, 1640. He was succeeded by one of the most distinguished Princes that Germany possessed during the seventeenth century—Frederick William, the "Great Elector." Circumstances, however, at first allowed him no opportunity to display his talents, and in July, 1641, he concluded an advantageous truce with the Swedes, which may be regarded as the first step towards the elevation of Brandenburg. After the death of Baner, the Swedes found in Torstenson a commander equal in military talent to Gustavus Adolphus. Generals Pful, Wittenberg, and Charles Gustavus Wrangel, who immediately succeeded Baner, achieved nothing of importance during the campaign of 1641, except defeating the Imperialists at Wolfenbüttel, June 19th ; a victory, however, which led to no result, and they subsequently found it necessary to retreat into Westphalia. The Swedish army, or rather the Germans of whom it was chiefly composed, were in a state of destitution and mutiny, and were often compelled to sell their arms and horses to obtain food. When Torstenson, with some Swedish reinforcements, came to take the command of them in the middle of November he found them at Winsen-on-Aller.

Rapid con-
quests of
Torstenson.

The prospect before him was not encouraging. Pful and Wrangel had, for different causes, taken offence, and absented themselves from the army ; Wittenberg had broken his leg ; the Guelph Dukes had abandoned the Swedish alliance ; Melander, the general of Amelia Elizabeth, had thrown off the mask, and changing his name to Holzapfel, was become a Catholic and Imperialist ; Guébriant was gone with the Weimarian troops to the Rhine. Torstenson himself was so gouty that when he broke up from his quarters, in 1642, it

was necessary to carry him in a litter. Yet his enterprises astonished all Europe. After defeating the Imperialists, under the Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, at Schweidnitz, taking that town and several other places (May), Torstenson marched through Moravia, captured Olmütz, and despatched marauding expeditions to within a few leagues of Vienna. These Moravian conquests, however, he was compelled to abandon and return into Silesia. Here he spent three or four weeks in besieging Brieg, till the advance of Leopold and Piccolomini again obliged him to retreat, July 21st; when he occupied a fortified camp at Guben, near the confluence of the Neisse and Oder. Being reinforced by 4,000 Swedes towards the end of August, he was enabled to resume the offensive, and compelled the Imperialists to raise the siege of Glogau; but, as they cautiously avoided a battle, Torstenson marched into the Saxon Electorate, and, towards the end of October, laid siege to Leipsic. Leopold and Piccolomini hastened to its relief, and on November 2nd was fought what has been called the Second Battle of Leipsic; in which the Archduke was completely defeated, with the loss of all his guns and baggage. Leopold and Piccolomini, who with difficulty saved themselves, fled to Prague, whither they succeeded in rallying a considerable portion of their troops; but, being disgusted soon after by the appointment of Gallas as generalissimo, they resigned their command, and Piccolomini entered the service of Spain. Torstenson, after his victory, again attacked Leipsic, which he took December 6th, and levied a heavy contribution on the inhabitants. Then, after a fruitless attempt on Freiburg, he again marched into Silesia and Moravia, with the view of supporting his army. Guébriant had been almost equally successful on the lower Rhine. After signally defeating the Imperial general Lamboy at Kempen, January 17th, 1642, he had succeeded in occupying nearly the whole Electorate of Cologne and the Duchy of Jülich.

Meanwhile in France the policy of Richelieu was hampered by his domestic enemies, and the plots of Gaston of Orleans, the Count of Soissons, and Cinq-Mars, the youthful favourite of Louis XIII., a son of Marshal d'Effiat. Early in 1642 Louis XIII. and the Cardinal proceeded to the south to encourage the army by their presence. In April, the French, under La Meilleraye, took Collioure and Elne, and blockaded Perpignan; while, in Catalonia, La Mothe-Houdancourt not

Conspiracy
of Cinq-
Mars.

only succeeded in defending that province, but even entered Aragon, captured Tamarite and Monçon, and threw forward his van to the gates of Saragossa. But Cinq-Mars, who followed Louis like his shadow, and exercised over him an almost unbounded influence, proposed to the King the murder of Richelieu; nor does Louis appear to have been wholly averse to the enterprise, which seems to have failed only through the irresolution of the contriver. Cinq-Mars was at the same time holding secret communication with the Spanish Court, and concluded an agreement that Gaston, on his retiring to Sedan, should be assisted by Spain with men and money. Cinq-Mars was at the same time endeavouring to effect a peace with Spain; for there were at that time in France two parties, the *Cardinalists* and the *Royalists*, of whom the former were for war and the latter for peace.

Conspiracy
and execu-
tion of
Cinq-Mars.

Towards the end of April, Louis XIII., accompanied by Cinq-Mars, had proceeded from Narbonne to the French camp before Perpignan; Richelieu, then too ill for the journey, had remained behind; and subsequently, being doubtful of the King's disposition towards him, had gone to Arles. But reverses in the north, and especially the disastrous defeat of Marshal de Guiche at Honnecourt by Don Francisco de Mello, May 26th, brought Louis to his senses, who now addressed to his indispensable minister a letter assuring him of his unalterable affection and esteem. By Chavigni, the messenger who brought it, Richelieu sent Louis a copy of the treaty which Cinq-Mars had negotiated with the Spanish Court, and which had been forwarded to the Cardinal by some unknown hand. Cinq-Mars was immediately arrested, and the King hastened to the Cardinal, then at Tarascon, to assure him of his future fidelity. Both were now confirmed invalids. Richelieu was so ill that he could not rise from his bed to receive the King, and it was necessary to place another couch for Louis near the Cardinal's, in order that they might converse together. The King then set off for Paris, leaving the Cardinal with unlimited powers. The Duke of Orleans, as well as the Duke of Bouillon, the commander of the French army in Italy, who were both concerned in Cinq-Mars' plot, were arrested. Gaston, alarmed by threats of death, basely betrayed his companions, turned informer for the Crown, and furnished the necessary evidence against Cinq-Mars, Bouillon, and their accomplice De Thou,

a son of the celebrated historian. Louis XIII. degraded himself almost as much as his brother Gaston. Cinq-Mars having asserted that he had undertaken nothing against the Cardinal without the approbation of the King, Louis addressed a letter to the Chancellor, who presided over the commission appointed to try the prisoners, in which he defended himself like an arraigned criminal; admitting that the proposal to murder the Cardinal had been made to him, but asserting that he had rejected it with horror. Cinq-Mars and De Thou were condemned and beheaded at Lyons, September 12th. Bouillon escaped by surrendering his town of Sedan.¹ Richelieu, surrounded by his guards, returned by slow journeys to Paris, travelling sometimes by land, sometimes by water. His progress almost resembled a triumph. He was carried in a splendid litter, so broad and lofty that it could not enter the gates of the towns through which he passed, into which he was admitted through breaches made in the walls. He arrived at the Palais Cardinal at Paris, October 17th, but almost immediately retired to his favourite seat at Rueil.

The great Cardinal-Duke now beheld his policy crowned on all sides with success. Not only had he triumphed over his domestic enemies, but the French arms also were everywhere victorious. Francisco de Mello had derived but little advantage from his success at Honnecourt. In Spain, although Philip IV., bursting the torpid fetters in which Olivarez had enchained him, appeared at the head of his army at Saragossa, yet the fall of Perpignan was effected by a victory over the Spanish fleet, and, after suffering the extremities of famine, it surrendered September 9th, 1642. A little after (October 7th), La Mothe defeated the Spanish army under Leganez, which was threatening Lerida; an exploit which procured for him the Duchy of Cardona and the government of Catalonia, resigned by De Brezé. In Italy affairs were equally prosperous. After the death of Duke Victor Amadeus I., in 1637, a stormy minority had ensued in Piedmont. Louis XIII. compelled his sister Christina, the dowager Duchess of Savoy, to renew the alliance with France; but the regency was contested by her brothers-in-

Death of
Cardinal
Richelieu,
1642.

¹ Respecting this conspiracy, see the *Mémoires* of Montrésor, the *Relation faite par M. de Fontrailles*, and the *Procès*, in the *Archives Curieuses*, t. v. p. 283 sqq. (2^{de} sér.).

law, Cardinal Maurice of Savoy and Thomas Prince of Carignano, grandfather of the celebrated Prince Eugene. Spain declared for Maurice and Thomas, who seized several places in Piedmont. But the Cardinal of Savoy was defeated at Ivrea by the French under the Count of Harcourt, April 14th, 1641, who also obliged Prince Thomas to raise the siege of Chivasso. At length, in 1642, the two Piedmontese Princes recognized Christina as Regent and guardian of her son, and renouncing the Spanish alliance, entered into that of France; when Prince Thomas, being declared general of the French army in Italy, drove the Spaniards from all the places which they held in Piedmont and Montferrat. But in the midst of these successes the life of Richelieu was drawing to a close. On the 2nd of December he had his last interview with Louis XIII. at the Palais Cardinal, and on the 4th he died, at the age of fifty-seven.

His
Character
and Policy.

In spite of his brilliant qualities and the benefits which his policy had conferred upon France, Richelieu died unlamented by the French people. He possessed not that *bonhomie* which had procured for Henry IV. so universal a popularity; nor could his vast schemes of policy be comprehended and appreciated except by a few among the higher and more educated class of Frenchmen. A large proportion even of that class have detested him as the founder of royal despotism; nor can it be denied that it was chiefly he who built up the absolute power of the French Crown. On the other hand, the experience of repeated revolutions has shown that a strong government and the centralization of power, seem to be indispensable for the peace, prosperity, and happiness of France; and, in this respect, Richelieu must be allowed to have thoroughly understood the genius and wants of the French nation. The France of that period, however, perceived not this necessity, and the death of the great statesman occasioned bonfires and rejoicings in various parts of the Kingdom.¹ Richelieu had in the spring dictated his will to a notary at Narbonne. He left the Palais Cardinal to the King, and directed that a million and a half of livres,

¹ Griffet, *Hist. de Louis XIII.* t. iii. p. 579. Richelieu thus described to La Vieuville his method of acting: "Je n'ose rien entreprendre sans y avoir bien pensé: mais quand une fois j'ai pris ma résolution, je vais à mon but, je renverse tout, je fauche tout, et ensuite je couvre tout de ma soutane rouge."—*Ibid.*

which he kept in reserve for unforeseen exigencies of state, should also be handed over to Louis. His extensive library he bequeathed to the public. Almost with his last breath he had recommended Mazarin to Louis as his successor, who, almost immediately after Richelieu's death, was summoned to the Council. The other ministers named by Richelieu were also retained.

Louis XIII. did not long survive his great minister. After a protracted decline, he died May 14th, 1643, at the age of forty-one. In temper cold and melancholy, though not deficient in courage, he possessed neither eminent virtues nor extraordinary vices; and perhaps the greatest praise that can be accorded him is, that he was aware of his own mediocrity, and was content to resign himself to the direction of a man of genius. By his will he appointed his wife, Anne of Austria, Regent of France during the minority of their son Louis XIV., then only in his fifth year; but, by way of check upon her, he named his brother, the Duke of Orleans, Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom; and, to control both, he instituted a Council, in which everything was to be carried by a majority of votes. It was composed of the Prince of Condé, Cardinal Mazarin, Boutillier, the superintendent of finance, and his son Chavigni. But Anne, by bribing Orleans and Condé, obtained the supreme direction of affairs, and granted to the Parliament of Paris, assisted by the Peers, the high privilege of abrogating the late King's will, and abolishing the compulsory Council.

Anne of Austria, now in her forty-second year, inspired universal sympathy by her good looks, her agreeable manners, and her past discomfords. The Cardinal, who, however, had never received priest's orders, was of much the same age as herself, and in person eminently prepossessing. He is supposed to have been the son of either a bankrupt tradesman or artizan of Palermo, who settled at Rome, where he became the *cameriere*, and afterwards major-domo, of the Constable Colonna. His introduction to Richelieu, the origin of his fortune, has been already described; and he who could win and retain the esteem of so keen and severe a judge of mankind must have possessed no ordinary qualities. To the surprise of all, and disappointment of many, Anne chose Mazarin for her minister.

The news of Richelieu's death reanimated the enemies of

Death of
Louis XIII.,
1643.

Mazarin
becomes
minister.

Dismissal of
Olivarez.

France. Philip IV. of Spain, instigated by the Emperor, and by his own wife, Elizabeth of France, had begun to take a more active part in the military and civil affairs of his country. In January, 1643, he dismissed his minister, Olivarez, whom his adversaries reproached with detaining the King from the camp and the council-board, and whose policy had of late been everywhere unfortunate. Never, perhaps, has the art of the courtier been exercised with a more brazen felicity than in the method in which Olivarez had announced to Philip IV. the revolution in Portugal. Entering the King's apartment with a smiling countenance, "Sire," he exclaimed, "I congratulate your Majesty on the acquisitions you have just made!" "What acquisitions?" inquired Philip. "The Duke of Bragança," replied the minister, "has taken it into his head to be proclaimed King, and your Majesty can therefore confiscate his immense domains." Instead of a confiscation to be acquired, he was announcing the permanent loss of a Kingdom.

Victories of
D'Enghien.

A congress had now been appointed to assemble in Westphalia to arrange a general peace; Ferdinand III. and Philip resolved to strain every nerve before its opening, and the House of Austria vigorously resumed the offensive on all the theatres of war. On the side of the Netherlands, Don Francisco de Mello, at the head of a fine army, after threatening Arras, suddenly directed his march towards Champagne, and on the 12th of May, Rocroi was invested by his van. Here the Duke of Enghien, afterwards the renowned Condé, but then a young general in his twenty-second year, achieved his first victory (May 19th). In spite of the efforts to detain him of the veteran Marshal de l'Hospital, who had been associated with him as tutor and guide, Enghien flew from the banks of the Somme, routed the Spaniards, and sent 260 standards to Notre-Dame as tokens of his prowess. He next laid siege to Diedenhofen, the strongest place on the Moselle after Metz, and the key of Luxembourg. Diedenhofen surrendered August 10th, and remained thenceforth, until 1870, in the possession of France. Then, after taking the little town of Sierk, Enghien marched into Alsace, in order to support Guébriant, who had been compelled to recross the Rhine.

Philip IV.'s
activity.

Spain, proportioning her efforts to her apparent grandeur rather than to her real strength, whilst thus exhausting herself in the struggle to maintain Belgium, was so weak at

home, that, in order to attempt the reduction of Catalonia, she was compelled to expose unguarded to the ravages of the Portuguese the frontiers of Galicia and Estremadura. Philip IV., at the head of 12,000 men with Piccolomini, whom the Emperor had sent to direct his movements, was marching in person towards the Lower Ebro. This activity was brought on by the threats of the Aragonese to throw themselves, like the Catalans, into the arms of France, unless they were speedily succoured; for La Mothe-Houdancourt, after blockading the Spaniards in Tortona, Tarragona, and Rosas, the only places which they still retained in Catalonia, was making great progress in Aragon. But Philip's army recaptured Monçon, and compelled the French to retire into Catalonia (November, 1643). At sea the French retained their superiority; and on the whole, chequered with some reverses, the Spanish campaign went this year in favour of the French.

The German campaign of 1643 presents little worth detailing. In the south, Guébriant was driven back into Alsace; but having been reinforced with some of Enghien's troops in October, he re-entered Suabia, and laid siege to Rothweil, which surrendered November 19th. Guébriant died a few days after entering the town, of a wound received during the siege. The confusion which ensued in his army upon his death enabled the Imperialists under the Duke of Lorraine, John of Werth, and other generals, to recover the place, and to scatter the Franco-Weimarian army. In the north, Torstenson had been able to do little more than maintain his former conquests. But a new enemy had now entered the field. Christian IV. of Denmark had reconciled himself with the Emperor, and was intent on playing the part of mediator in the negotiations that were to ensue for a general peace. Such a policy was viewed with jealousy and suspicion by Sweden; Oxenstiern sought a pretext for declaring war against Denmark; and, towards the close of 1643, Torstenson received secret instructions to invade the Danish territories. But the relations between these two countries will require a few words of explanation.

After the death of Gustavus Adolphus, the Swedish States had recognized his daughter, Christina, then six years of age, as "Queen Elect," and an oligarchical government had been established, from which the Queen-Dowager, as well as the late King's brother-in-law, the Palsgrave John Casimir of Klee-

Campaign
of 1643 in
Germany.

Govern-
ment of
Sweden.

burg, were entirely excluded. By direction of Gustavus before he left Sweden, the regency was in the hands of a Great Council, consisting of five Colleges, viz.: the Aulic Court, War Council, Admiralty, Chancery, and Treasury; comprising altogether twenty-five persons; and the heads of these Colleges, who were severally the Constable, Marshal, Admiral, Chancellor, and Treasurer, formed the executive government. As the Chancellor Oxenstiern had procured the appointment of two of his kinsmen to the offices of Constable and Treasurer, he was enabled to conduct the government with almost absolute power. He controlled completely the education of the young Queen, and, though he procured for her the best instruction in art, science, and literature, the course pursued was calculated to extinguish all feminine qualities. The Queen-Dowager, hurt at seeing herself excluded from all power and influence, opened communications with Christian of Denmark, holding out to him as a bait the hand of Christina for his eldest son; and Christian, though he perceived what a foolish and ruinous course she was entering on, did not hesitate to encourage her by his protection. In 1640 a Danish man-of-war was sent to Nyköping to bring her away, and she fled into Denmark, accompanied only by one lady and a Dane sent for the purpose. After some stay in Denmark, Mary Eleanor proceeded into Brandenburg, and did not return to Sweden till 1648.

Rupture
between
Sweden and
Denmark.

This occurrence produced a coldness between Sweden and Denmark, which was further increased by Christian's subservient policy to the Emperor. An angry correspondence ensued between the two governments; nothing was wanting but a pretext to declare war; and this was afforded by a quarrel respecting the Sound dues. Sweden, by treaties with Denmark, was exempt from this toll, and she made use of the privilege to cover with her flag the goods of foreign merchants. The Danes retaliated by seizing three Swedish vessels, and Torstenson received in consequence the order already mentioned to enter Danish territory. He conducted the invasion in a manner remarkable both for boldness of design and finish of execution. His intention was kept entirely secret, and meanwhile his operations were calculated to avert all suspicion of his real design. He caused reports of his movements to be circulated which alarmed Bavaria; he threw bridges over the Elbe at points where he had no idea of

crossing ; and it was not till he reached Havelberg, December 6th, that he declared to his officers his intention of taking up his winter-quarters in Holstein, Sleswig, and Jutland.

The peculiar constitution of Denmark rendered that Kingdom an easy prey to so enterprising an enemy. The King being tied down by rigorous capitulations, all the real power in the State lay with the nobles, who held Crown lands on condition of paying a fifth to the King, and maintaining the fortresses in an efficient state of repair ; but this duty had been shamefully neglected. The Council, composed of seven members chosen by the nobles, would neither grant the King any extraordinary supply in this emergency, nor even suffer his German mercenaries to remain in the country. It is not surprising, therefore, that Torstenson, who entered Holstein January 16th, 1644, when war was first declared, found it an easy task to overrun the Danish territory. Krempe and Glückstadt, in Holstein, alone defended themselves ; the whole of the Danish peninsula was speedily overrun ; but Torstenson's attempts to pass over to the islands were unsuccessful. At the same time Gustavus Horn and Lars Kagg entered the Danish province of Schonen in Sweden, took Helsingborg (February 17th), and then Landskrona ; but Malmö, which was defended by Christian in person, resisted all their efforts.

Torstenson
invades
Denmark.

The Emperor directed Gallas to follow Torstenson into Denmark ; a step which, after the annihilation of Guébriant's army, might be ventured on with the more confidence. But Gallas, at best no very brilliant commander, seemed to have lost with advancing years what little military talent he had formerly possessed, and to have fallen deeper into his errors of over-much caution and dilatoriness. He did not leave his quarters till May, and then marched with such deliberation that it was July before he reached Holstein ; where, after taking Kiel, he resorted to his old method of a fortified camp. Torstenson, though seriously unwell, assembled his army at Rendsburg in the first week of August, newly equipped at the expense of the Danes. Sickness had not deprived him of his adventurous daring. Leaving a small force in Sleswig and Jutland, he offered the Imperialists battle ; and, as Gallas did not think fit to leave his camp, passed it contemptuously with his whole army, without the loss of a single baggage-waggon, and reached Ratzburg in safety. Gallas was now compelled

Campaign
of 1644.

to retreat on Bernburg and Magdeburg, during which operation he lost a great part of his army, and on the 23rd of November his cavalry was annihilated. He is said to have brought back only 2,000 men into Bohemia. At sea, meanwhile, the Swedish Admiral, Klas Flemming, had appeared, in June, with a fleet of forty sail; the old King, Christian IV., went out to give him battle; an action ensued, in which Christian displayed conspicuous valour, and the victory at nightfall remained undecided. The Swedish admiral being killed a little after, Charles Gustavus Wrangel, the celebrated general, was appointed to succeed him, and was victorious at sea, as he had formerly been on land, defeating the Danish fleet between the islands of Femern and Laaland; but the summer of 1644 was unpropitious for naval operations, and little was done.

Battle of
Jankowitz,
1645.

Early in 1645 Torstenson again penetrated into Bohemia, and in March, at Jankowitz, in the neighbourhood of Tabor, achieved over the Imperialists one of the most signal victories of the Thirty Years' War. Of the three Imperial generals, John of Werth alone escaped; Götz was slain, Hatzfeld taken prisoner; 7,000 of their men fell in the action, and 70 colours became the trophies of the victors. In the north, General Königsmark drove Prince Frederick, son of the Danish King, out of the Bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, which had been relinquished to him by the Emperor Ferdinand II.; but the Swedes could not maintain themselves in Jutland, Sleswig, and Holstein, though at sea they captured the island of Bornholm. The Dutch and French had now begun to interfere in the quarrel in the interest of their commerce with regard to the Sound dues; they had pressed their mediation on the belligerents, and a congress had been opened at Brömsebro, while hostilities continued. Christina now reigned in Sweden, having assumed the reins of government on her eighteenth birthday, December 8th, 1644. The memory of her great father procured for her extraordinary respect and influence, and she fortunately reposed her confidence in Salvius, the advocate of peace. Oxenstiern and the Council were opposed to any accommodation; but after six months of negotiation, she made the Chancellor lower his terms, and on the 14th of August, 1645, the peace of Brömsebro was concluded. The terms were still hard for Denmark. Swedish vessels were exempted from all tolls in the Sound and Belts; Denmark

Accession
of Christina
in Sweden.

ceded Jämtland, Hejeadalen, and Oesel, for ever, Halland for thirty years—the same thing under a different name; Christian's son Frederick renounced Bremen and Verden. The further operations of Torstenson against the Emperor, after his victory at Jankowitz, were remotely supported by the Turks. The declining power of that people, whose history we have brought down to the accession of Amurath IV. in 1623,¹ now caused them to play only a subordinate part in the affairs of Europe, and for a long period there has been no occasion to advert to their proceedings; though, had they possessed their former might, the Thirty Years' War would hardly have been neglected as an opportunity of extending their dominions at the expense of the Empire. Yet they still commanded the means of annoyance, as they continued to occupy Buda and a considerable portion of Hungary on the left bank of the Danube.

The insubordination of the Janissaries had continued after the accession of Amurath, but at length, by their own moderation and submission, they restored peace to the distracted Empire. Its affairs had altered so much for the better, that Sir Thomas Roe, in a letter to Sir Isaac Wake, April 6th, 1628, observes: "My last judgment is that this Empire may stand, but never rise again."² In 1632 the Janissaries attempted another abortive revolt, and after this period Amurath IV. displayed a cruelty and bloodthirstiness which had not before been observed in his character. From that year to 1637, he is said to have put to death 25,000 men, and a considerable number of them with his own hand.³ The attention of Amurath was diverted from the affairs of Europe by his wars with Persia and the Druses. In 1638 he captured Bagdad, which had been fifteen years in the hands of the Persians; when he caused several thousand prisoners to be slaughtered before him as he sat upon a throne. In June, 1639, he entered Constantinople in triumph. But his constitution was already broken through fatigue, excitement, and debauchery; and being seized with a violent fever, he died February 9th, 1640, at the age of thirty.

Turkish
history.

Amurath was succeeded by his brother Ibrahim, whom he

¹ See above, p. 211.

² *Negociations, etc.*, p. 809.

³ *Relatione di Constantin*, ap. Zinkeisen, *Gesch. des osm. Reiches*, B. iv. S. 25.

had ordered to be put to death. Ibrahim, now in his twenty-fifth year, would willingly have declined the diadem. The change of rule, however, was tranquilly effected; and with the hope of enjoying better times under the new Sultan, even the Janissaries and Spahis were tranquil. Ibrahim, though not altogether destitute of talent and mother-wit, soon betrayed a total want of princely dignity, and passed his days in the inmost recesses of the harem, with women, jugglers, and musicians.

Turkish
war with
Venice,
1645.

At the beginning of the new reign peace was renewed with the Christian Powers, many of which, as England, France, Venice, and Holland, now maintained resident ambassadors at the Porte. The only relations which seemed to threaten hostility were those with the Emperor; but in March, 1642, the peace between the two Powers was renewed at Szöny. The only open war waged during the reign of Ibrahim was that with Venice. In spite of many disputes between the Venetians and the Porte, the peace between these Powers had remained unbroken since 1573; but the bombardment of Valona by the Venetians in 1638, when in pursuit of some Barbary pirates who had taken refuge there, was an affront which the Porte found it difficult to digest, although Venice had expiated her offence by the payment of 250,000 sequins. In 1644 immense preparations were observed in all the Turkish arsenals, and it was readily and rightly conjectured that the object of them was Crete, the only important outlying possession that remained to Venice. The Turkish fleet, with a large army on board, the whole under the command of Yusuf, a Dalmatian renegade, left Constantinople in April, 1645. A landing was effected and the town of Canea taken; but the war dragged on several years, and it was not till 1648 that the Turks laid bootless siege to Candia, the capital of the island. The ill-success of this war, and especially the Turkish losses in Dalmatia, where the Venetians captured the almost impregnable fortress of Clissa, gave rise to serious discontent at Constantinople; most of the great officers of state, as well as the leaders of the Janissaries, rose against Ibrahim; the Mufti pronounced his deposition; and his son Mahomet IV., a child only seven years old, was saluted Sultan in his place (August, 1648). The unfortunate Ibrahim was soon afterwards strangled in the prison to which he had been committed.

Although during the period we have been surveying no

open breach occurred between the Empire and the Porte, yet the Turkish Pashas who ruled in Hungary supported Ragotsky, Voyvode of Transylvania, in an attempt upon Ferdinand's dominions which had been stimulated by the policy of Mazarin. On pretext that the Emperor had violated his promises to the Hungarian Protestants, Ragotsky incited a revolt in that Kingdom, and the Austrians had great difficulty in maintaining themselves in Pressburg and some of the neighbouring Hungarian counties. Torstenson, after his victory at Jankowitz, united himself with Ragotsky (1645), threw a bridge over the Danube, and attempted to seize the Emperor at Vienna; but the wild and undisciplined troops of his ally proved rather a hindrance than a help, and Ragotsky himself concluded a separate peace with the Emperor. Torstenson, who was so ill that he could travel only in a litter, was soon after forced to raise the siege of Brünn. Being now determined to retire, he intrusted the maintenance of his conquests in Bohemia and Silesia to General Königsmark, but subsequently devolved the chief command on Charles Gustavus Wrangel. His last feat, before his retirement, was the capture of Leitmeritz. In the boldness and decision of his military genius Torstenson more resembled his great master, Gustavus Adolphus, than did any other of that King's generals. He was accompanied in his last campaign by Charles Gustavus, son of the Palsgrave of Kleeburg, who was subsequently to mount the throne of Sweden, and who, in the school of Torstenson, became a distinguished commander.

Torstenson
threatens
Vienna.

Negotiations for a general peace had been already opened. Ever since France had taken up arms, Pope Urban VIII. had not ceased to press that Power to abandon the Protestant alliance and reconcile herself with the House of Austria. In 1636 Urban had so far succeeded as to induce some of the Catholic Powers to treat at Cologne, whither he despatched Cardinal Ginetti as Legate and mediator; but, though the Emperor and the Catholic King sent representatives to Cologne, France declined to do so, regarding the assembly only as intended to separate her from her Protestant allies, the Swedes and Dutch, who could not be expected to treat under the mediation of the Pope. The Count of Avaux and John Adler Salvius, the ministers of France and Sweden, had renewed at Hamburg, March 15th, 1638, for three years, the alliance between those countries, with the express provision

Negotia-
tions for a
peace.

Congress at
Münster
and Osnab-
rück.

that neither should enter into a separate peace; ¹ and, as at the commencement of 1641 the prospect of a general peace was as distant as ever, the alliance was again extended till such a peace should be effected.² Meanwhile the Emperor had conceived the impracticable design of treating with the States of the Empire alone, without the participation of foreign Powers; and it was with this view that he had summoned a Diet at Ratisbon in 1640; where, as already related, he had been so nearly captured by Baner. At length, in December, 1641, preliminaries were arranged at Hamburg between Conrad von Lützen, the Imperial ambassador, and Avaux and Salvius on the part of France and Sweden. It was agreed that the towns of Münster and Osnabrück in Westphalia, which were to be declared neutral, should become the seats of two congresses composed of the representatives of the Powers directly or remotely interested in the war, that is, of most of the States of Europe. The reasons for choosing two towns were, because one would not have sufficed to accommodate the crowd of ministers who were expected to attend; and because it was desirable to avoid any collision between the Papal Nuncio and the Protestant plenipotentiaries, as well as any disputes concerning precedence between France and Sweden. Hence, as a general rule, the representatives of the Catholic Powers were to assemble at Münster, and those of the Protestant Powers at Osnabrück, but the Dutch plenipotentiaries were to treat at Münster with the Spanish, without any mediator; and as the affairs of the Empire were to come before both assemblies the Emperor was to be represented in both towns. The two congresses were, however, to be considered as one; and the towns mentioned were selected because they lay near each other, and had every facility of communication.

The conferences were to have been opened in March, 1642; but more than a year was lost in squabbling about forms and points of etiquette. At last, in July, 1643, the Imperial plenipotentiaries opened the congresses, and the ministers of the other Powers began to arrive; but it was not till October that the Spaniards appeared: the Venetian envoy came in November, and the French plenipotentiaries did not arrive till April, 1644. The Papal Nuncio, Fabio Chigi, Bishop of Nardo, afterwards Pope Alexander VII., and the Venetian

¹ Dumont, t. vi. pt. i. p. 161.

² *Ibid.*, p. 207.

senator Contarini, who subsequently became Doge of Venice, took up their residence at Münster, as mediators between the Catholic Powers; while the King of Denmark, as mediator between the Emperor and Sweden, had despatched to Osnabrück as his ministers Lipsius and Langermann. This attempt at mediation on the part of Denmark produced the war already related between that country and Sweden; and the functions designed for Christian IV. were ultimately transferred to Contarini.

Never before had such an assembly of the members of the European commonwealth met together. Not only were the greater States represented, but ministers from the Electors, spiritual and temporal Princes, and great cities of Germany, whom the Emperor with much reluctance at length consented to admit, as well as from such Powers as the Duke of Savoy, the Duke of Mantua, the Grand-Duke of Tuscany, nay, even from Catalonia, newly revolted from Spain, also appeared at the congress. The quiet little town of Münster, a century before the scene of the strangest suppression of all social distinctions, was now enlivened with Court ceremonies, splendid banquets, and the equipages of prelates, princes, and ambassadors; while the Papal Nuncio might behold, suspended from the tower of St. Lambert's church, the bones of that fanatical heretic who for a brief period had enjoyed a more absolute sway over his followers than had ever fallen to the lot of the haughtiest Pontiff. One nation alone accustomed to play a great part in the affairs of Europe was conspicuous by its absence.¹ England was unrepresented in these important transactions. The civil troubles of that country had effaced her for a time as a member of the great European system.

Composition
of the
Congress.

Considering the extent, variety, complication, and importance of the interests at stake, it was not to be expected that the negotiations for a peace should be brought to any very

Insincerity
of the chief
Powers.

¹ The other Christian Powers, besides England, not directly interested in the negotiations were Denmark, Poland, Russia, the Pope, and the Republic of Venice. The King of Denmark, however, had a resident at the Congress to watch over the interests of his son, as so-called Archbishop of Bremen, and his own if necessary; the Pope and Venice were represented in their quality of mediators; and thus England, Poland, and Russia were the only countries that had no ambassadors at Münster or Osnabrück.—Garden, *Hist. des Traités*, t. i. p. 133 sq.

speedy termination; but a still more efficient and dangerous cause of delay was the insincerity of some of the chief Powers, who had engaged in them rather by way of homage to public opinion than from any wish for their success. The generals and ministers of these States loved the war for its own sake, as it gave them employment and made them of importance. France and Sweden were intent on seizing as large a share as possible of the spoils of the Empire, while the Emperor himself felt a repugnance to negotiations which he saw could be completed only by vast sacrifices on his part. Since the fatal mistakes committed by Ferdinand II. in engaging in the Italian war and dismissing his army under Wallenstein, almost every year had been marked by signal defeats and losses. France had made herself mistress of Alsace and the Forest Towns, as well as of several places in Luxembourg and in the Electorates of Trèves and Cologne: the Swedes occupied Pomerania, and had garrisons in Saxony, Westphalia, Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia; and the Emperor might sometimes see with his own eyes, from the ramparts of his capital, the ravages of the enemy and the burning of his villages. A portion of his own subjects was in arms against him; another large part of the Empire, comprising the Electorates of Brandenburg and Saxony and the dominions of the Dukes of Lüneburg, had declared its neutrality; and Ferdinand III. was thus reduced to recruit his armies from his hereditary dominions and those parts of Germany which remained faithful to him, now almost exhausted by the efforts and sufferings of so long a war. Yet he was still disposed to protract the struggle, and risk the fortune of events rather than immediately consent to inevitable sacrifices; and such were the instructions he gave to the Count of Nassau and M. Wolmar, his plenipotentiaries at Münster. Spain, also, mindful of her former grandeur and prosperity rather than of her present fortunes, could not persuade herself to make concessions to an enemy whom she both feared and despised. France, from the hopes of gain, adopted the same procrastinating policy. No sooner did the French ministers arrive at Münster than they began to raise questions respecting their right of precedence over the Spanish ambassadors, more for the sake of protracting the negotiations than with any other view;¹

Ferdinand
indisposed
to peace.

¹ The French did not begin to think of treating seriously till the middle of 1645.—Garden, t. i. p. 142. The French and Swedes handed

whilst the Germans, without any such motive, but merely from a puerile love of titles and distinctions, followed their example. The title of "Excellence," a common one in Italy, borne by the Venetian minister, excited the jealousy of the Electors of Brandenburg and Bavaria, who insisted that their representatives were entitled to the same distinction; and when the Emperor conceded that title to such of them as were "persons of rank" (*Standespersonen*), new disputes arose as to who were to be included in that category! While the conferences at Münster were thus embarrassed by the French, those at Osnabrück were suspended altogether by the war between Sweden and Denmark, which rendered the latter Kingdom a belligerent instead of a mediating Power; and, as the French would not take a step without the Swedes, the negotiations were for a time arrested. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the proceedings of the congress were prolonged several years, and made dependent on the events of the war.¹

Whilst Torstenson was pursuing his successes in Germany, as already related, the campaigns of 1644 and 1645 had also been favourable to France. In Flanders the French, under the nominal command of the Duke of Orleans, but in reality under that of La Meilleraye, Gassion, and Ranzau, captured Gravelines, after a brave resistance, July 23rd, 1644, while about the same time the Prince of Orange had taken the Sas of Ghent. Enghien and Turenne, having marched to the Rhine, attacked the Imperial general Merci at Freiburg in the Breisgau (August); and, though they were repulsed, Merci found himself compelled to retire into Würtemberg. It is on this occasion that Enghien is said to have thrown his bâton into the enemy's lines, a story of somewhat doubtful authen-

Campaigns
of 1644 and
1645.

in some propositions in June, but the answer of the Imperial ministers was delayed some months, so that the negotiations did not properly begin till early in 1646.

† For the negotiations at Münster and Osnabrück, see Bougeant, *Hist. des Guerres et des Négociations qui précédèrent le Traité de Westphalie*, and *Hist. du Traité de Westphalie*. Bougeant's works are founded on the correspondence and documents which remained in the hands of the French plenipotentiary D'Avaux. An account of the negotiations was also written by Adam Adami, the representative, at the Congress of the Abbots and Princes of the Empire (*Relatio Historica de Pacificatione Osnabrugo-Monasteriensi*, ed. Meiern, Lips. 1737).

ticity. Turenne and Enghien now descended the right bank of the Rhine towards Baden, and captured Phillipsburg, September 9th, where they found a hundred guns. Enghien established himself in this fortress, while Turenne, crossing the Rhine, took Worms, Oppenheim, and Mainz, without firing a shot. Bingen, Bacharach, Landau, and Kreuznach were also occupied by the French, who thus commanded the course of the Rhine from Basle to Coblenz. When Enghien entered Mainz, and to the Latin harangue of the chapter and municipality, replied with facility in the same language, he astonished the Germans almost as much as by his victories. The French campaign in Germany in 1645 was also brilliant, but chequered. Enghien, quitting the valley of the Rhine, entered that of the Danube, and laid siege to Nördlingen. Merci flew to its rescue, but was defeated on the heights near the town, August 3rd, chiefly by means of the German cavalry. Merci was killed in this battle, while John of Werth, abandoning his artillery, retired upon Donauwörth. Nördlingen and Dinkelsbühl now fell into the hands of the French, who were, however, soon obliged to retire on the Neckar. Enghien was compelled by illness to return into France, but Turenne recrossed the Rhine in November, captured Trèves after a short siege, and re-established the Elector in his capital, who, at the instance of the French and Swedes, had been released from his captivity in order to take part in the congress. The French arms had also, on the whole, been successful in the Netherlands. Mardyck, Linck, Bourbourg, Cassel, St.-Venant, Béthune, Lillers were captured; and, after forming a junction with the Prince of Orange, other places were taken; but before the end of the year Cassel and Mardyck were recaptured by the Spaniards. In Spain itself the French had not been so successful. In 1644 they were driven out of Aragon, and Philip IV. then undertook, in person, the siege of Lerida, which covers the western frontier of Catalonia, and defeated, with great loss, La Mothe-Houdancourt, who endeavoured to defend it, May 15th. Lerida having capitulated, July 31st, the Spaniards next took Balaguer, and threatened Barcelona; but at this juncture Philip was recalled to Spain by the dangerous illness of his Queen, who died October 6th, and by the progress of the Portuguese in Galicia and Estremadura. In consequence of his ill success, La Mothe-Houdancourt was recalled to France and put upon his trial, and the Count of

Harcourt was appointed his successor as Viceroy of Catalonia. In May, 1645, Du Plessis-Praslin took the important maritime town of Rosas; and Harcourt, crossing the Segre, defeated the Spaniards under Cantelmo at Llorens, June 23rd. That commander was also subsequently driven from Balaguer, which capitulated, October 20th.

In Italy also matters had not gone so favourably for France. Pope Urban VIII., who died in July, 1644, was succeeded by Innocent X. (Cardinal Pamphili), who showed himself decidedly hostile to French interests; and he directed against Mazarin a bull depriving all Cardinals who absented themselves from Rome, without permission of the Holy Father, of the right to assist at the Conclave. To alarm the Pontiff, Mazarin, with the help of Duke Thomas of Savoy and the Genoese, embarked a French army at Genoa (May, 1646), and laid siege to Orbitello, a Spanish possession on the coast of Tuscany; where, however, Duke Thomas was defeated, and compelled to retreat with the loss of all his guns and baggage, by a Spanish army, which had marched from Naples through the Roman States. This disgrace was retrieved by another expedition, which sailed from Toulon under La Meilleraye, and succeeded in taking Piombino and Portolongone (October, 1646). The French, by thus establishing themselves on the coast of Italy, compelled the Pope to a more humble deportment; but the success was purchased by neglecting Catalonia; and in November, Leganez, whom Philip IV. had restored to favour, compelled the French to raise the siege of Lerida.

Accession
of Pope
Innocent X.

The French campaign in Flanders in 1646 had been successful. Enghien took Courtrai, and made himself master of the greater part of the course of the Lys. Great things were anticipated from a contemplated junction between the French and Dutch armies; but these hopes were frustrated by the insanity of Prince Frederick Henry of Orange, with which malady he had been some time threatened. Antwerp was saved from attack by this circumstance, but Mardyck was retaken August 25th, and in October Dunkirk yielded to the arms of Enghien, assisted by some French vessels and a Dutch fleet under Tromp. The success of Turenne this year in Germany was no less striking, and by compelling the Bavarian Elector to a truce, was one of the causes which immediately led to the Peace of Westphalia. Descending the

Treaty of
Ulm, 1647.

Rhine, which he crossed at Wesel, and marching round through Westphalia and Hesse, Turenne formed a junction on the Lahn with Wrangel and the Swedes (August 10th); when the united force penetrated by rapid marches to Augsburg, and pushed its van up to the very gates of Munich. The old Elector, Maximilian, was weary of the war, and had already, in the preceding year, sent his confessor to Paris, to negotiate a separate treaty, which, though entirely conformable to the interests of France, had gone off, from the suspicions entertained of Maximilian's sincerity. The latter now sued for peace, and in March, 1647, a treaty was signed at Ulm, by which Maximilian, and his brother the Elector of Cologne, engaged to remain neutral so long as the war should last. The Elector of Mainz and the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt were soon after compelled to follow this example. Thus did the Emperor become completely isolated solely by superiority in manœuvring, and without fighting a single battle. He was now in a condition which appeared to render a capitulation necessary; yet he contrived to hold out another year or two.

Condition
of Spain.

The first result of the congress at Münster was a treaty between Spain and the United Provinces, which was quite unexpected, as the Dutch, by their treaty with France, had bound themselves not to enter into a separate peace. But the situation of Spain rendered it absolutely necessary for her to bring to a close the war in the Netherlands. The serious nature of the Catalan revolt has been already seen, while the independence of Portugal seemed to be established beyond all hope of recovering that Kingdom, except by the most gigantic efforts. An abortive conspiracy of the Archbishop of Braga had only resulted in establishing King John more firmly on the Portuguese throne. John had won the hearts of his subjects by his generous and patriotic conduct, in devoting the revenues of his private domains to the public service, and by leaving it to the States to impose the necessary taxes in their own way; in return for which, they raised for him a supply of double the amount that had been demanded. In 1643 the Spaniards had been defeated in Estremadura, with great loss, by the Portuguese under Dom Matthias Albuquerque; and the demands made on the Spanish resources by the war in the Netherland and in Catalonia obliged Philip IV., for the present, to neglect Portugal. His affairs

in Italy were in no better condition, where a revolt had broken out in both Sicilies. His necessities had led him to exhaust those provinces both of men and money; the people groaned under the weight of enormous taxes, rendered all the more hateful and galling through the ecclesiastics, barons, and high officers of state being exempt from them; and the misery having been increased by a year of famine, the popular discontent exploded. An insurrection at Palermo, led by a manufacturer named Alessio, who was slain in a riot, was put down without much difficulty; but a more terrible one had broken out at Naples, where the sufferings had been greater than in Sicily, and where the harshest oppression had been aggravated by the most brutal and insolent tyranny. The last Viceroy, indeed, Don Alfonso Enriquez, Admiral of Castile, had resigned his dignity rather than be the instrument of the extortions of the Spanish government; but a man of different stamp was appointed his successor, the Duke de los Arcos. The lower classes had no untaxed food left but fruit and vegetables and, to meet the expense of the French war, Arcos put a tax upon fruit.

Insurrec-
tions at
Palermo
and Naples.

Two abortive attempts at insurrection had already been made, when Tommasso or 'Mas Aniello, a poor young fisherman, put himself at the head of the Neapolitan populace, and became for a moment master of Naples. The soldiers were routed, the bureaux of finance destroyed, the houses of obnoxious financiers and unpopular grandees were stormed and plundered, the Viceroy was seized in his palace, and compelled to abolish the more oppressive taxes in order to save his life. He was then shut up in the Castle of St. Elmo, and forced to re-establish by a formal treaty the immunities enjoyed during the reign of Charles V. But the success of 'Mas Aniello turned his head. He accepted an invitation from the authorities to a banquet of reconciliation; the people, disgusted by his extravagances, forsook him, and he was murdered by the satellites of Arcos (July 16, 1647). The anarchy, however, was not at an end. The populace buried 'Mas Aniello with great pomp, and on the 21st of August a fresh explosion ensued, the people massacred all the Spaniards they could seize, blockaded the Viceroy in Castel Nuovo, and in place of a poor fisherman, chose for their leader the Prince of Massa; who seems to have accepted the office by an understanding with the government, and in

'Mas
Aniello.

the hope of effecting an accommodation. The insurrection now began to assume the form of revolution. One party desired a Republic, another was for the Pope, a third wished to exchange the rule of Spain for that of France, and with this view made advances to the French Court.

Aims of the
Duke of
Guise.

After the open declaration of war against Spain in 1635, the French ministry had been bent on wresting Milan and Naples from the Catholic King through the aid of Italian Princes; and a plan was formed to make the Duke of Savoy King of Naples, while his own dominions were to be divided between the Cardinal, his brother, and France; the latter taking Savoy, Nice, and Villafranca. Pope Urban VIII. was to aid the undertaking, and an independent state was to be erected in the Neapolitan territory for Cardinal Antonio Barberini. But this scheme was never carried out, and was put aside by the death of Urban and accession of Innocent X., an opponent of French interests. The Neapolitan revolt of 1647 induced France to attempt something for herself. The desire for a Republic prevailed among the Neapolitans, who despatched a deputation to Rome to solicit the aid of France through the French ambassador in that city. The envoys made the acquaintance of Henry II., fifth Duke of Guise, then residing at Rome with the view of procuring a divorce; and they offered him the same post in their new Republic as the Prince of Orange held in Holland. The French agents in Italy appear to have approved this arrangement, though it was never sanctioned by Mazarin; who suspected that Guise aimed at procuring the Crown of Naples for himself, while the Cardinal-minister wished to place it on the brow of Louis XIV. Mazarin's chief view, however, was at all events to wrest Naples from Spain; and he did not, therefore, oppose Guise, though he lent him no warm support. Descended on the female side from the ancient Angevin Kings or Pretenders of Naples, there can be no doubt that Guise was meditating the seizure of what he considered his hereditary rights, though it is pretended in his memoirs that he was labouring only for France. It appears, indeed, from Mazarin's letters, that Guise was striving to render the French hateful and ridiculous at Naples; he asserted that he himself was no Frenchman, but a Lorrainer, and now an Italian by adoption; and he left off writing anything but Italian even to his friends in France.

A piece of cowardly treachery on the part of the Spanish government promised to improve Guise's chances. A Spanish fleet, commanded by Don John of Austria, an illegitimate son of Philip IV., appeared off Naples, October 4th, and the Viceroy, after communicating with Don John, proclaimed that the Catholic King had ratified the ancient franchises of Naples, and granted a general amnesty. This announcement was received with shouts of joy. Next day, however, both the castles and fleet opened fire on the unsuspecting city, and Don John landed several thousand soldiers; but the populace, armed with tiles and stones, and such like weapons, compelled them to retreat. Cries now arose on all sides of "Long live the Republic!" The portrait of Philip IV. was dragged through the streets with every mark of contumely and insult; Massa was executed as a partisan of Spain, and an armourer, named Gennaro Annese, was chosen leader in his place. Passing through the Spanish fleet in a swift-sailing felucca, Guise landed at Naples amid the acclamations of the people, November 15th. But the opportunity of wresting Naples from the Catholic King was lost through the supineness and ill-policy of the French Court. The French fleet did not appear off Naples till December 18th; and when it arrived the Duke of Richelieu, its commander, a great-nephew of the Cardinal, would not recognize Guise, although the people had elected him Duke of Naples; and the French fleet, after an affair of small importance with that of Spain, returned to Portolongone, January, 1648. Guise, nevertheless, who displayed considerable military talent at this conjuncture, continued to maintain himself at Naples; the Spanish government, despairing of retaining that Kingdom, recalled their fleet; till the remissness of France inspired them with fresh hopes, and determined them to resort to intrigue and stratagem. The Duke of Arcos was recalled and replaced by the Count of Oñate, at that time Spanish ambassador at Rome, a man of supple, insinuating manners; Annese and other popular leaders were secretly gained; during the temporary absence of Guise from Naples, who had lost his popularity, a report was spread that he was treating with the Spaniards; Annese and his confederates opened the gates to Don John and Oñate, who entered with cries of "Peace! Peace! no more taxes!" and the people being thus thrown into confusion, and knowing not what to believe, the Spanish

Expedition
of Guise.

restoration was accomplished almost without a blow, April 1st. Guise, being afterwards captured at Capua, was kept four years a prisoner in Spain.¹

Peace
between
Spain and
Holland.

The breaking out of this rebellion, as well as the other embarrassments of Spain, to which we have adverted, naturally induced the Spanish Court to press on to a definite conclusion the treaty with the United Provinces, the preliminary conventions of which had been signed at Münster, in January, 1647. The success of Spain in detaching the Dutch from their allies has been attributed to her able diplomacy, conducted chiefly by Antoine Brun, a native of Dôle, in Franche-Comté; but it must also, perhaps, be partly ascribed to a false step on the part of Mazarin. The Dutch had been alienated from the French alliance by a proposition made to the Spanish Court by the Cardinal in the course of the negotiations, to exchange Catalonia and Rousillon for the Spanish Netherlands and Franche-Comté.² They were naturally alarmed at the prospect of having a powerful nation like France for their immediate neighbour; and, though the project appears to have been withdrawn, Antoine Brun very skilfully kept alive the jealousy of the Dutch. On the 30th January, 1648, they signed, at Münster, a definitive treaty with Spain, which conceded all that they desired. The United Provinces were recognized as free and sovereign States, to which Philip IV. renounced all pretensions for himself and for his successors. The conquests made by each party were to be retained as they stood; an arrangement which made over to the Dutch, Bergen-op-Zoom, Breda, Herzogenbusch, Grave, and Maestricht, in Brabant; Hulst, Axel, and Sluis, in Flanders; together with part of Limburg. In like manner, Spain ceded to the Dutch all the conquests they had made in Asia, Africa and America; no great sacrifice, however, on her part, as these conquests had been achieved at the expense of the revolted Portuguese, and Spain's chance of recovering them was very slight indeed. The basest feature of this

¹ An account of this attempt of Guise will be found in his own *Mémoires*, and in those of Montglat and Mad. de Motteville. Mazarin's views and the policy of France are fully described in the fifth volume of Ranke's *Französ. Gesch.* S. 172 ff.

² *Mémoire* of Mazarin in the *Négociations secrètes touchant la paix de Munster et Osnabrug* (by John Le Clerc), ap. Garden, vol. i. p. 165, note.

peace was the abandonment by Spain of the commercial interests of the inhabitants of the Spanish Netherlands, who had so loyally stood by her, by sanctioning in favour of the Dutch the closing of the Schelde, as well as of the Sas of Ghent, the Zwyn, and other channels of communication with the great river, thereby ruining the trade of Brabant and Flanders.¹ Thus, after a terrible and bloody struggle of eighty years' duration, the establishment and recognition of the United Provinces were at last effected under more favourable conditions than the most sanguine of their leaders might have anticipated—a struggle in which we know not whether most to admire the stubborn perseverance of Spain in the midst of all her disasters and defeats, or the fortitude, valour, and good fortune of the Dutch, who made the war itself a source of strength and profit.

After this peace the Spaniards and Dutch took no further part in the congress, and the war between France and Spain of course continued. During the year 1647 it had not gone very favourably for France. Mazarin, in order to find employment for Enghien, whose demands had become troublesome, had made him Viceroy of Catalonia. By the death of his father, in December, 1646, he was now become Prince of Condé. His operations in Catalonia were not calculated to add to his reputation. He renewed the siege of Lerida, and, with an unbecoming fanfaronade, opened the trenches to the music of violins. But Lerida seemed destined to be fatal to French generals. It was gallantly defended by the commandant, Don Gregorio Britto, who, after every assault or skirmish, sent ices and lemonade for the refreshment of Condé. The French army suffered from desertion as well as from the sallies of the garrison, and, on the approach of the Spaniards, Condé found himself compelled to raise the siege. He afterwards achieved some trifling successes, but, on the whole, the campaign was a failure. In 1648, Condé was sent into Flanders, and was followed in the government of Catalonia by Mazarin's brother, Cardinal Michael Mazarin, Archbishop of Aix, a man without any capacity, who in a few months grew weary of the employment, and was succeeded by Marshal Schomberg. Neglecting Tarragona and Lerida, Schomberg carried Tortosa by assault, July 12th. The

Campaigns
of Condé in
Catalonia
and Flanders.

¹ Dumont, t. vi. pt. i. p. 560.

Archbishop, at the head of his clergy, was killed in the breach.

Turenne in
the Nether-
lands.

During this period the French were not more successful in the Netherlands. After the treaty with Bavaria, Turenne was marching into Luxembourg, when nearly all the cavalry of the Weimarian army refused to follow him across the Rhine, unless their pay, then several months in arrear, was forthcoming. Turenne followed the mutinous troops into the valley of the Tauber, and killed several hundreds; of the remainder, some surrendered, but the greater part took service under the Swedish General Königsmark, in Westphalia. This affair prevented Turenne from entering Luxembourg till September; and as Marshals Gassion and Ranzau, who commanded the French forces in Flanders, could not agree, the advantage in this campaign lay with the Spaniards.

Battle of
Zusmarshausen.

After the dispersion of the Weimarian army, and the withdrawal of Turenne beyond the Rhine, Maximilian, the now aged Elector of Bavaria, and his brother, the Elector of Cologne, again took up arms, in order to support the Emperor against the Swedes in Bohemia (October, 1647); though he endeavoured to reconcile this step with the treaty of Ulm, and declared that he had no wish to break with France, but only with Sweden and Hesse. The French, however, would not recognize this distinction, and Turenne was directed to support Marshal Wrangel. This commander, who had taken Eger, in Bohemia, finding himself no match for the united Imperial and Bavarian forces, made a masterly retreat into Westphalia. In April, 1648, he was joined by Turenne in Franconia, when the allied army advanced towards the Danube, the Imperialists retreating before them. These were overtaken and defeated at Zusmarshausen, near Augsburg (May 17th), where Melander, or Holzapfel, the former general of Amelia Elizabeth of Hesse, was killed; the Bavarian army retreated beyond the Inn, leaving garrisons in Munich and one or two other places; the Elector took refuge at Salzburg; and, in spite of the efforts of the Imperialists to succour it, Bavaria lay at the mercy of the Franco-Swedish army. A harrying war followed, marked by murder, burning, and devastation, but without any signal victories. While these things were going on in Bavaria, the fortune of war was equally adverse to the Imperialists in the Netherlands and Bohemia. In the former country, after

some nearly balanced successes, Condé gained one of his most splendid victories over the Archduke Leopold, near Lens, August 20th, 1648, and completely dispersed his army. The plan of the German campaign this year had been a double attack on Austria, through Bavaria and Bohemia. This latter part of it was conducted by General Königsmark, who penetrated to Prague, and took that part of the city called the *Kleinseite* (Little Town) lying on the left bank of the Moldau, where an enormous booty was captured (July 31st). Charles Gustavus, now appointed generalissimo, arrived soon after with reinforcements from Sweden; but the remaining portions of Prague resisted all the efforts of the Swedes to master them. These disasters, however, had determined the Emperor to conclude peace; and thus, singularly enough, the Thirty Years' War was finished at the same place where it had broken out. The labours of the men of the sword were now superseded by those of the diplomatists; the Wrangels, the Turennes, and the Königsmarks, gave place to the Oxenstierns, the Avaux, and the Trautmansdorfs; and the fruits of many a bloody campaign were disposed of with a little ink and a few strokes of the pen.

Battle of
Lens.

End of the
Thirty
Years' War.

Towards the end of September the conferences at Osna-brück were transferred to Münster, where, after negotiations which had lasted between four and five years, were signed the two TREATIES OF WESTPHALIA (October 24th, 1648). Of these treaties we can only give the principal conditions. The objects of the peace may be divided into two heads: the settlement of the affairs of the Empire, and the satisfaction of the two Crowns of France and Sweden. With regard to Germany, a general amnesty was granted; and all Princes and persons were, with some exceptions as to the immediate subjects of the House of Austria, restored to their rights, possessions, and dignities. The question of the Palatinate, one of the chief objects of the war, was settled by a compromise. The Duke of Bavaria was allowed to keep the Upper Palatinate, with the Electoral dignity and rights; while the Lower or Rhenish Palatinate was restored to the eldest son of the unfortunate Frederick V., and an eighth Electorate erected in his favour. On the extinction either of the Bavarian or the Palatine line, however, both Electorates were again to be merged into one. With regard to the political constitution of the Empire, it was determined that

Treaties of
Westphalia,
1648.

Germany.

laws could be made and interpreted only in general Diets of all the States; which were also to have the power of declaring war, levying taxes, raising troops, making treaties, &c. The French and Swedes did not succeed in their attempt to procure the abolition of the custom of choosing a King of the Romans during the lifetime of the Emperor, which might have endangered the hereditary succession of the House of Austria. The demand of the German States that no Prince should be put under the Imperial ban without the approbation of a Diet was referred to a future assembly, and was finally established by the capitulation of the Emperor Charles VI. Several reforms were made in the constitution of the Imperial Chamber and other tribunals, tending to give the Protestants a larger share of power. The authority of the Aulic Council was recognized by this treaty, but nothing was determined respecting its constitution, and it was not till 1654 that the Emperor, of his own authority, fixed the number of Aulic Councillors (besides a President and Vice-president) at eighteen, of whom six were to be Protestants. But the most important article of this part of the treaty was that by which the various Princes and States of Germany were permitted to contract defensive alliances among themselves, or with foreigners, provided they were not against the Emperor, or the public peace of the Empire—conditions easily evaded.

Respecting the affairs of religion in the Empire, as the Catholics sometimes pretended that the Religious Peace of 1555 had been only temporary, and ceased to have force of law after the dissolution of the Council of Trent, it was now formally renewed, subject to certain interpretations; and it was agreed that members of the Reformed Church, or Calvinists, were comprehended under it, and put on the same footing as those belonging to the Confession of Augsburg, or Lutherans. This concession was opposed by the latter sect, but readily agreed to by the Emperor. And in general everything concerning religion was referred to the footing on which it stood on New-Year's day, 1624, hence called the *decretory*, or *normal*, year.

Cessions
to France.

With regard to the satisfaction of France, the Bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which, indeed, she had held for nearly a century, were ceded to her in full sovereignty, as well as Pinerolo in Piedmont. The Emperor and the House

of Austria also ceded to France all their right to Breisach, Upper and Lower Alsace, the Sundgau, and the prefecture of the ten Imperial cities of Hagenau, Rosheim, Oberehnheim, Landau, Weissenburg, Schlettstadt, Colmar, Münster im Gregorienthal, Kaisersberg, and Türkheim, on condition that the Catholic religion should be upheld in these lands and towns. France was empowered to maintain a garrison in Phillipsburg. The Breisgau and the Rhenish Forest Towns were to be restored to the House of Austria. It had been debated whether France should hold Alsace as a fief of the Empire, with a seat in the Diet, or in full sovereignty. Avaux had inclined to the former plan, which was also supported by the Elector of Bavaria, and several of the Catholic States of Germany; while, on the other hand, it was opposed by the Protestant States assembled at Osnabrück, and by the Emperor, who was unwilling to see his most dangerous enemy admitted, as it were, into his very household. Servien too, the colleague of Avaux, disapproved of a plan that would lower the dignity of France, by rendering its King a vassal of the Emperor; and this view of the matter prevailed at the French Court.

For the satisfaction of Sweden were ceded to her, as perpetual and hereditary fiefs, all Western Pomerania, together with the towns of Stettin, Garz, Damm, and Gollnow at the mouth of the Oder, the islands of Wollin, Usedom, and Rügen, the city and port of Wismar in Mecklenburg, and the secularized Bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, the former as a Duchy, the latter as a Principality; with seat and triple vote in the Diets of the Empire. Sweden was allowed to erect a University, which was afterwards established at Greifswald.

Cessions to
Sweden.

Other articles regulated the compensation to be made to German Princes; by which the Houses that chiefly profited were those of Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Brunswick, and Hesse. Brandenburg, which was soon to assume a foremost rank among German States, for the part of Pomerania which she abandoned to Sweden, received the Bishopric (henceforth Principality) of Halberstädt with the Lordships of Lohra and Klettenberg, the Bishoprics of Minden and Camin, the former secularized as a Principality, and, after the death of Prince Augustus of Saxony, the reversion of the Archbishopric of Magdeburg secularized as a Duchy.

By the Peace of Westphalia the independence of the Swiss League was recognized, and the Empire acknowledged also the independence of the Northern Netherlands, nor made any provision for the free navigation of the Rhine. The question respecting the succession to the inheritance of Jülich was referred to future adjustment. There were many other articles respecting the surety and guarantee of the peace, its execution, the pay of the soldiery, evacuation of fortresses, &c., which it is not necessary here to detail.¹

The Pope declares the treaties null.

As the Pope seemed to be included in the peace as an ally of the Emperor, under the expression "the Princes and Republics of Italy," the Nuncio Chigi, immediately after the completion of the treaty, entered a protest against it; not indeed against the peace itself, but against the articles which it contained detrimental to the Church of Rome; and Pope Innocent X. soon after published a bull (November 26th) declaring the treaties of Münster and Osnabrück null and void. Such weapons, however, were now mere *bruta fulmina*. Even the Catholic Princes, who were glad to see the war ended, gave little heed to the Pope's proceedings; and Ferdinand III. himself, notwithstanding his devotion to the Holy See, did not hesitate to forbid the circulation of the bull.²

Thus the policy of France and Sweden was entirely successful. These countries, besides raising up a counterpoise to the power of the Emperor in Germany itself, had succeeded in aggrandizing themselves at the expense of the Empire. Sweden, indeed, in the course of the next century was to lose most of her acquisitions; but France had at last seated herself, for more than two coming centuries, on the Rhine; the House of Austria lost the preponderance it had enjoyed since the time of Charles V., which was now to be

¹ The chief work on the Peace of Westphalia is that of Meiern, *Acta Pacis Westphalicæ publica*, Hanover, 1734, 6 vols. fol. The treaties are in Bougeant, liv. x. t. vi., and Dumont, t. vi. pt. i. p. 450 sqq. Woltmann's *Gesch. des Westphälisches Friedens* may also be consulted. The general reader will find all that he can require in the summary of the Count de Garden, *Hist. des Traités de Paix*, t. i. § 4.

² The protest and bull are in Dumont, t. vi. pt. i. p. 462.

transferred to her rival; and, during the ensuing period, France was the leading European Power; a position which she mainly owed to the genius and policy of Cardinal Richelieu. Thus the Peace of Westphalia marks a new era in the policy and public law of Europe.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE FRONDE AND THE FRANCO-SPANISH WAR

France and
Spain un-
reconciled.

THE Peace of Westphalia, as we have seen, had not included France and Spain. France was still animated with the ancient spirit of rivalry, while Spain, on the other hand, though terribly exhausted, found in the aspect of affairs, some hopeful and encouraging circumstances. The state of her foreign relations was favourable. The peace which she had concluded with the United Netherlands had diminished the number of her enemies; on the side of England, now approaching the close of her long civil war, there was nothing to be dreaded; and though the German branch of the House of Austria was precluded by the peace from lending her any open assistance, yet she might reckon on the good wishes, and even the secret aid, of the Emperor Ferdinand II. Above all, the Cabinet of Madrid was encouraged by the domestic troubles which then agitated France.

The
Fronde.

The sedition of the FRONDE,¹ though it nearly caused a revolution in France, is important in the general affairs of Europe only as crippling for some years the power of that country, and ranging the military talents of Condé on the side of Spain.

Mazarin as
a financier.

Although the victories of Condé and Turenne had gratified the national vanity and thrown a lustre on the administration of Anne of Austria and Mazarin, they had not been purchased without many sacrifices and privations. As a financier Mazarin had no skill, and Eméri, his agent, was entirely unscrupulous. The taxes had been everywhere increased, and in some places, as Languedoc, it had been necessary to levy

¹ This ridiculous name, which, however, is sufficiently characteristic of this half-tragic, half-comic disturbance, is said to have been derived from the slings used by the Parisian *gamins* in their sports.

them by force. But it was the Parisians, and especially the sovereign courts, that had been chiefly incensed by the tyrannical proceedings of the cabinet. In 1644 Eméri had thought proper to revive an obsolete edict, passed in 1548, soon after the invasion of Charles V., and inspired by the fear that the capital might be besieged, by which it was forbidden to erect any buildings outside the walls of Paris. Its operation, however, had subsided with the alarm which gave it birth, and the vacant space had been covered with the dwellings of the poorer classes of the population. The proprietors were now called upon to pay a tax in proportion to the space occupied; and, in case of non-compliance, they were threatened with the demolition of their houses. The president Barillon and several others, who pleaded in favour of these poor people, were snatched from their homes and incarcerated. Barillon was carried to Pinerolo in Piedmont, where he soon after died. Among other ways of raising money, Mazarin resorted to a forced loan, and put a duty on all articles of consumption entering Paris. This last measure, as it touched the pockets of all, may be regarded as the principal cause of the disturbances which followed. Having thus disgusted the citizens, his next step was to alienate the magistrates. The guaranty of hereditary succession to offices that had been purchased, renewable every nine years, expired on January 1st, 1648; and Mazarin, to insure the submission of the Parliament, and compel them to register his edicts, refused to renew it. As there were between 40,000 and 50,000 families in France dependent on these places, the discontent thus occasioned may be imagined. New magistrates were created, and the old ones were only continued in their places at a sacrifice of four years' income. In order, however, not to offend the whole Parliament, the edict was confined to such chambers as were not strictly courts of justice; as the *Chambre des Comptes*, the *Cour des Aides*, and the *Grand Conseil*. But these chambers called upon the Parliament to defend their rights; and by an *Arrêt d'Union*, deputies from all the chambers were summoned to meet together in the *Chambre de St. Louis*, and consult for the common good. The *Arrêt* was annulled by the Royal Council, yet the self-constituted chamber continued its sittings, and instead of confining itself to questions concerning the interest and jurisdiction of the Parliament, it now announced

its object to be nothing less than the reformation of the State.

Chamber of
St. Louis.

France seemed to be on the eve of a revolution, and the scenes then passing in England might well inspire the Queen and her minister with dread. After a little attempt at violence, Mazarin yielded, and allowed the Chamber of St. Louis to proceed. Nothing seemed wanting to the success of the movement but sincere and resolute leaders. But these were not forthcoming. The two chiefs of the Parliament, the advocate-general Omer Talon and the president Molé, were honest, well-intentioned men, but not of the stuff which makes revolutionists. How could a thorough reform proceed from the Parliament?—men with bought places which they regarded as an estate with succession to their heirs; bred up in all the forms of legal etiquette, and imbued with an unbounded reverence for the royal prerogative.¹ Many, indeed, among the French nobles were willing to promote any disturbance that might overthrow Mazarin; for, if the people hated the Cardinal for his financial measures, the nobles both detested and despised him for his personal character. As a foreigner, both ignorant and neglectful of the ancient laws and customs of the country, Mazarin was naturally an object of suspicion and dislike. At the head of the malcontent nobles was the King's uncle, Gaston d'Orleans. But the Catiline of the *Fronde* was the young and profligate abbé Francis Paul de Gondy, afterwards the celebrated Cardinal de Retz. Gondy, Count of Retz, of Italian origin, had come into France with Catharine de' Medici, and had, as we have seen, been one of the principal advisers of the St. Bartholomew. Since that period the family had been in almost hereditary possession of the archbishopric of Paris, and at the time of which we write the uncle of the Abbé Gondy was in the enjoyment of that dignity. The nephew had attached himself to the Duke of Orleans, and Mazarin had endeavoured to gain him by making him Coadjutor to his uncle, and consequently successor to the archbishopric; an unlucky step for Mazarin,

The Abbé
Gondy,
Count of
Retz, Co-
adjutor.

¹ When Anne of Austria, in an overbearing tone, demanded whether the Parliament pretended to control the King's will, the awe-stricken lawyers replied: "qu'ils ne peuvent, ils ne doivent décider une telle question, pour laquelle il faudrait ouvrir les seaux et les cachets de la royauté, pénétrer dans le secret du mystère de l'Empire."—Michelet, *Richelieu et la Fronde*, p. 315.

since this post gave the abbé great influence with the Parisian clergy, and enabled him to excite, through the pulpits, the fanaticism of the populace.¹ The Coadjutor and the nobles with whom he acted had, however, no real sympathy either with the people or the Parliament; they were actuated only by vanity and self-interest, and the desire to wring as much as possible from the fears of the Court. Perhaps the only sincere leader of the movement was Broussel, an aged counsellor of the Parliament; a man of small means, but whose firmness and resolution made him the idol of the populace. After passing through a period marked by endless intrigues, the Court, supported by the *éclat* of Condé's victory at Lens, caused some of the noisiest orators of the Parliament, and among them Broussel, to be arrested; upon which the people rose, barricaded the streets, and compelled his release. Seeing that the populace were no longer under the control even of the Parliament, the pride of Anne of Austria began to yield to the influence of fear, and to the advice of the unfortunate Henrietta of England, who since 1644 had been living in France. By the declaration of October 24th, 1648, one of the crises of the *Fronde*, the Queen conceded all the demands of the Parliament. Thus, on the very same day when the French policy was completely successful abroad by the conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia, the government at home was in a state of dissolution; and that triumph of diplomacy—so much were the minds of the people engrossed with their domestic affairs—passed almost unheeded.

The support of Condé, who had returned to Paris in September crowned with the prestige of victory, and had helped to bring about the arrangement with the Parliament, was contested by Mazarin and the Coadjutor. Condé was, however, a dangerous confederate. His character, except on the field of battle, did not show to much advantage; his judgment was unsteady, his temper violent and overbearing. As he had a great contempt for the Parisians, and detested the lawyers, the Court found little difficulty in buying him by the alienation of some of the royal domains. His conduct towards the Parliament soon brought matters to a crisis. That body having been convened for December 16th, to con-

Condé
besieges
Paris.

¹ We learn from his own *Mémoires* the part which De Retz played in the *Fronde*, which he perhaps exaggerated. See Ranke, *Französische Gesch.* B. v. S. 194, ff.

sider how the Court performed its engagements, some of the members complained of the quartering of troops in the neighbourhood of Paris. Condé, who attended the meeting as one of the guarantors of the Declaration of October, replied with threatening words and gestures, which were resented with a storm of groans and hisses. Condé, in great irritation, now went to the Queen, and pressed her to allow him to attack Paris; and after some deliberation it was resolved that, while the Spanish war was interrupted by the winter, Paris should be reduced to obedience by military force. On January 6th, 1649, Anne of Austria gave the signal by retiring with the Court to St. Germain. A civil war was now begun. Condé blockaded Paris, and the Parliament on their side, after treating with contempt a royal order to transfer themselves to Montargis, declared Mazarin an enemy of France, and ordered him to quit the Court in twenty-four hours, and the kingdom in a week. They allied themselves with the other Parliaments of the kingdom, and took into their service many nobles with their retainers; among whom may be named Condé's brother, the Prince of Conti, the Dukes of Longueville, Elbœuf, Brissac, Bouillon, Beaufort, and the Marquis de la Boulaye. The Parisians chose Conti for their generalissimo; but they were no match for regular troops under a general like Condé. They were defeated in every skirmish; by February they began to feel the effects of famine; and on March 11th they were glad to conclude a peace with the Queen, through the mediation of the Duke of Orleans, which, from its being negotiated at the former seat of Richelieu, has been called the *Peace of Rueil*.

The Peace
of Rueil.

Anarchy.

This peace, though ultimately abortive, arrested France on the brink of destruction. Turenne, who had been directed to remain with his army in Suabia till the spring, in order to insure the execution of the Peace of Westphalia, had signified to the Court his disapproval of the siege of Paris; had told Mazarin to rely no longer on his friendship, and had ended by placing himself and his army at the service of the Parliament and the public. Such a step on the part of Turenne seems almost inexplicable, except, perhaps, from some personal resentment against Mazarin, and the desire to recover Sedan for his family, confiscated by Richelieu in 1642. The Archduke Leopold, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, emboldened by these troubles, had advanced with his forces as

far as the Aisne between Laon and Rheims; but on learning the peace of Rueil, he recrossed the frontier, and he and his lieutenants subsequently took Ypres and St. Venant. To wash out this disgrace, Mazarin directed against Cambrai the troops which had blockaded Paris, united with the ancient army of the Rhine; but Harcourt, who commanded (Condé had refused the post), though he gained some small successes, failed in the main enterprise. Meanwhile all was anarchy in France. In the provinces order and authority were shaken to their foundations; the taxes could not be regularly levied, and it was difficult to find money even for the expenses of the King's household. Provence and Guienne were in a state of revolt; Paris and its Parliament were still restive. It cannot be doubted that the consummation of the English rebellion had some influence on these troubles. At Paris it was the universal topic. Nothing was talked of but liberty and a republic; the monarchy, it was said, had grown decrepit, and must be abolished.¹

As the best method of quelling these disturbances and procuring a little money, the Queen, with the young King, returned to Paris, August 18th, accompanied by Mazarin and Condé, and were well received by the Parisians. But Condé, by his pride and insolence, soon rendered himself insupportable, not only to the Queen and Mazarin but also to the *Fronde*.² The Cardinal availed himself of this latter circumstance to ruin the Prince. He persuaded Condé that the Coadjutor and the Duke of Beaufort, now one of the chief demagogues of Paris, intended to assassinate him. Condé's carriage was actually fired at while passing over the Pont Neuf, and a valet killed. Mazarin has been suspected of having concerted this affair; however that may be, he at least knew how to avail himself of it. Condé denounced the outrage to the Parliament, and involved himself in an implacable quarrel with the heads of the *Fronde*. Thus deprived of supporters, Condé became an easy victim to the arts of Mazarin. It was determined to arrest him, together with his brother Conti, and his brother-in-law Longueville. The promise of a cardinal's hat for Gondi procured for the Court

The arrest
of Condé,
Conti, and
Longue-
ville.

¹ *Mémoires de Montglat*, p. 217; *Martin*, t. xii. p. 338.

² Condé treated Mazarin with personal insult. On his insensibility to such treatment, see *Mad. de Motteville*, *Mém.* p. 288, and *Michelet*, *La Fronde*, p. 291.

the assistance of the *Fronde*; the Duke of Orleans consented to the measure, and the three princes, when on the point of leaving a council that had been held at the *Palais Royal*, were arrested, and quietly conducted to Vincennes (January 18th, 1650). It is said that the order for this arrest had been obtained from Condé himself, on pretence that it was to be used against some other person.¹

This was the second crisis of the sedition. The old *Fronde* had expired; its leaders had sold themselves to the Court; but in its place sprang up the new *Fronde*, called also, from the affected airs of its leaders, the *Petits Maîtres*. The beautiful Duchess of Longueville was the soul of it, aided by her admirer, Marsillac, afterwards Duke de la Rochefoucauld, and by the Duke of Bouillon. On the arrest of her husband and her brother, the duchess had fled to Holland, and afterwards to Stenai; where she and Bouillon's brother, Turenne, who styled himself the "King's Lieutenant-General for the liberation of the Princes," entered into negotiations with the Archduke Leopold. Bouillon himself had retired into Guienne, which province was alienated from the Court because Mazarin maintained as its governor the detested Epernon. In July, Bouillon and his allies publicly received a Spanish envoy at Bordeaux. Condé's wife and infant son had been received in that city with enthusiasm. But on the approach of Mazarin with the royal army, the inhabitants of Guienne, alarmed for their vintage, now approaching maturity, showed signs of submission; after a short siege, Bordeaux surrendered, on condition of an amnesty, in which Bouillon and La Rochefoucauld were included; and the Princess of Condé was permitted to retire (October 1st).

In the north, the *Frondeurs*, with their Spanish allies, seemed at first more successful. In the summer Leopold had entered Champagne, penetrated to Ferté Milon, and some of his marauding parties had even reached Dammartin. Turenne tried to persuade the Archduke to march to Vincennes and liberate the princes; but while he was hesitating, Gaston transferred the captives to Marcoussis, whence they were soon after conveyed to Havre. Leopold and Turenne, after a vain attempt to rouse the Parisians, retreated to the Meuse, and laid siege to Mouzon. The Cardinal himself, like his patron

New
Fronde,
or *Petits*
Maîtres.

¹ Michelet, *La Fronde*, p. 333.

Richelieu, now assumed the character of a general. Uniting with his troops in the north the army of Guienne, he took up his quarters at Rethel, which had been captured by Du Plessis Praslin. Hence he ordered an attack to be made on the Spaniards, who were entirely defeated; many of their principal officers were captured, and even Turenne himself narrowly escaped the same fate (December 15th). The Cardinal's elation was unbounded. It was a great thing to have defeated Turenne, and though the victory was Du Plessis', Mazarin assumed all the credit of it. He forgot that he owed his success to the leaders of the old *Fronde*, and especially to the Coadjutor; he neglected his promises to that intriguing prelate, though Gondi plainly declared that he must either be a prince of the Church or the head of a faction. Mazarin was also imprudent enough to offend the Parliament; and he compared them with that sitting at London, which, indeed, was doing them too much honour. The Coadjutor went over to the party of the princes, dragging with him the feeble-minded Orleans, who had himself been insulted by the Queen. Thus was produced a third phase of this singular sedition—the union of the old *Fronde* with the new. The Parliament now clamoured for the liberation of the princes. As the Queen hesitated, Gaston bluntly declared that the dismissal of Mazarin was necessary to the restoration of peace; while the Parliament added to their former demand another for the Cardinal's banishment. Mazarin saw his mistake, and endeavoured to rectify it. He hastened to Havre in order to liberate the princes in person, and claim the merit of a spontaneous act. But it was too late; it was plain that he was acting only by constraint. The princes were conducted back in triumph to Paris by a large retinue sent to escort them. On February 25th, 1651, their innocence was established by a royal declaration, and they were restored to all their dignities and charges.

Mazarin, meanwhile, who saw that for the present the game was lost, retired into exile: first into Bouillon, and afterwards to Brühl on the Rhine, where the Elector of Cologne offered him an asylum. From this place he corresponded with the Queen, and continued to direct her counsels.¹

Mazarin in
exile.

¹ Their correspondence has been published by the *Société de l'Histoire de France*.

The anarchy and confusion which ensued in France were such as promised him a speedy return. Châteauneuf had ostensibly succeeded to his place; but Orleans and Condé ruled supreme, and ministers were dismissed and appointed at their pleasure. The Parliament in its turn wanted to establish a republic of the *robe*, and passed the most violent resolutions, which the Queen, who was a sort of prisoner at the Palais Royal, was obliged to confirm. Anne's situation—who was subjected on the one side to the dictation of the princes, on the other to the threats of the Parliament—became intolerable and the Coadjutor availed himself of her distress to push his own interests. He promised to procure the recall of Mazarin on condition of receiving a cardinal's hat: a fact which can scarcely be doubted, though he pretends in his Memoirs that he made no such engagement.¹ To relieve herself from her embarrassments, the Queen Regent resolved to declare her son of age when he should have completed his thirteenth year, on September 6th. This step would release her from the rule of the Duke of Orleans; and at the same time her son would be able to confirm all that Mazarin had done in his name. Already in address, figure, and bearing, the youthful Louis XIV. was admirably fitted to sustain the part of a king; and everybody acknowledged that he was formed to rule a people which loves to see absolute power fitly represented, and surrounded with pomp and splendour. On the day after his birthday, his majority was declared in a solemn *Lit de Justice*; but he was compelled to promise that Mazarin should never return, and thus to inaugurate his reign with a falsehood. In the same assembly was also published a *Justification* of Condé; yet that prince absented himself from the ceremony on the ground that the calumnies of his enemies prevented him from appearing before the King.² By his haughtiness and violence he had again completely isolated himself.³ He had separated from the leaders of the *Fronde*; he had offended both the Court and the Parliament; nay, he had even alienated Turenne, who hastened to reconcile himself with the Queen and Mazarin. Anne had been advised again to arrest Condé; but he got notice of it, and fled to St. Maur. He had now no alternative but to throw himself into the arms of the enemies of his country.

Louis XIV.
declared
of age.

¹ Martin, t. xii. p. 377. ² *Ibid.* p. 381. ³ Montglat, t. ii. p. 287.

At a meeting of his principal adherents held at Chantilli, Condé resolved upon war; and he proceeded at once to his government of Berri, and thence to Bordeaux (Sept. 22nd). Through his agent, Lenet, he had procured the support of the Spanish Government, which, besides promising considerable sums of money, engaged to send thirty vessels and 4,000 men to Bordeaux, while 5,000 more were to join the prince's partizans at Stenai. Eight Spanish ships actually arrived soon after in the Gironde with troops and money; but ultimately Spain, always in want of means, did nothing of importance. The defection of Turenne spoilt Condé's plans, who wanted Turenne to march on Paris from the north, while he himself advanced from the south. The majority of Louis was also unfavourable to Condé; he had now to fight against the King in person, and the King's name was a tower of strength. Louis and his mother were with the royal army, which was commanded by the Count d'Harcourt. The struggle lasted during the month of November. Condé, worsted in every encounter, offered to treat on the basis of Mazarin's return; but the Cardinal, who saw that that event depended not on the Prince, refused to negotiate. He had quitted Brühl, towards the end of October, for Hui, in the territory of Liége, whence he had advanced to Dinant. He was in correspondence with the governors of provinces and places in the north of France, who were for the most part his creatures. La Vieuville—the same whom Richelieu had ousted—had again obtained the direction of the finances, and forwarded money to Mazarin; with which he levied soldiers in the electorate of Cologne and bishopric of Liége. After some anxious hesitation, Anne wrote to Mazarin, authorizing him to return "for the succour of the King" (Nov. 17th). The Parliament were furious, and unanimously opposed his return. They were now in a singular situation. On the one hand they were obliged to pronounce Condé guilty of high treason; on the other they were drawing up the most terrible resolutions against the minister who governed both the Queen and country. They had to oppose on one side absolute power and ministerial despotism; on the other an oligarchy of princes, united only by selfish views, and utterly regardless of the national interests.

Condé's
treason.

Meanwhile Mazarin pursued his march, and penetrated by Rethel into Champagne. At this news the Parliament issued

Condé
heads a
civil war.

a decree, confiscating his estates, and even the income of his prebends. They caused his palace in Paris, together with the library and furniture, to be sold; and out of the proceeds they offered a reward of 150,000 livres to whomsoever should bring him to justice, "alive or dead." Nevertheless, Mazarin continued his advance towards Poitiers, where the Court was then residing. His guards wore his own colours (green). The King went a league out of the town to meet him, and the very next day he assumed the ostensible direction of affairs. Fortune, however, seemed once more to turn. Condé, reinforced by the troops of the Duke of Orleans, and leaving his brother Conti and the Count de Marsin as his representatives in Guienne, marched against the royal forces under Hocquincourt, and defeated them near Bléneau (April 7th, 1652). The royal army would have been annihilated, had not Turenne arrived in time to save it. At this juncture, Charles II. of England, who had fled to France with his brother, the Duke of York, endeavoured to bring about an accommodation between the French Court and the princes; but a conference held at St. Germain, towards the end of April, had no result.

Condé having marched upon Paris, the stream of war was diverted towards the capital. During two or three months, Condé and Turenne displayed their generalship by counter-marches and manœuvres about Paris, while the Court went from place to place. At length on July 2nd, Turenne ventured an attack on Condé, who had intrenched himself in the faubourg St. Antoine. The young King, accompanied by Mazarin, had come to the heights of Charonne to see the issue; and Turenne, although from the strength of Condé's position, he would willingly have declined a battle, was neither willing to disappoint Louis, nor to awaken the suspicions of the mistrustful Cardinal. The Prince never displayed better generalship than on this occasion; yet he was on the point of being overcome, when he was saved by an unexpected accident. The Parliament, which had declared its neutrality, had intrusted the command of the Bastille to Mademoiselle de Montpensier, called in the Memoirs of those times *La Grande Mademoiselle*, the stout-hearted daughter of the Duke of Orleans, who had distinguished herself by the defence of that city against the Royalists. She took, with great valour but little judgment, a distinguished part in these

Attacked
by Turenne
at Paris.

wars; and it was said that her object was to compel the King to marry her, though he was eleven years her junior. While her father shut himself up in the Luxembourg, and would give no orders, Mademoiselle exhorted the citizens to stand by the Prince, and directed on the royal troops the guns of the neutral fortress which she commanded, the first of which she is said to have fired with her own hand.¹ Even this circumstance, however, would not have saved Condé, had she not persuaded the citizens to open the gates and admit him and his troops; when Turenne was compelled to retreat. Louis XIV. never forgave the Princess, who afterwards severely expiated her conduct.

The result of this victory was that Paris declared in favour of the princes; a provisional government was organized in that capital; the Duke of Orleans, though Louis was of age, was declared Lieutenant-General of the kingdom; and Condé, who still kept up his connection with Spain, was appointed generalissimo of the forces. The King having retired to Pontoise, summoned thither the Parliament of Paris, declaring null and void all that they should do in the metropolis. Only a few score members appeared at Pontoise, but they assumed all the functions of the Parliament. Louis had found himself compelled to announce his willingness that Mazarin should retire; but as the Cardinal was very loath to quit his post, the Parliament of Pontoise, by concert with the Court, drew up a remonstrance beseeching the King to remove every pretext for disaffection by dismissing his minister; and Louis, after pronouncing a pompous eulogium on Mazarin, permitted him to retire (Aug. 10th). The Cardinal now fixed his residence at Bouillon, close to the frontier.

Paris
opposes
the King.

The King, who had betaken himself to Turenne's army at Compiègne, and received from all sides assurances of loyalty and devotion, offered an amnesty to Condé and the Parisians; but though all desired peace, none were inclined to trust an offer dictated by the influence of the detested Cardinal. Condé, however, though the Dukes of Würtemberg and Lorraine had marched to his assistance, began to find his position untenable. All the magistrates of Paris had been changed; the Court had gained the Coadjutor, by procuring for him

Condé
enters the
Spanish
service.

¹ *Mém. de Conrart.* p. 106 sq.; *Mém. de Mdle. Montpensier,* p. 117 sq.

from the Pope a cardinal's hat; and while Condé despaired of the favour of the higher classes, de Retz caballed against him with the lower. The Parisians had sent some deputies to the King at Pontoise, who were delighted with their reception. Condé felt that it was time to fly. He quitted Paris for Flanders about the middle of October, and in the following month accepted from the Spanish general, Fuensaldaña, the bâton of generalissimo of the forces of Philip IV., with the red scarf which he had vanquished at Rocroi and Lens: thus degenerating from a rebel into a renegade. About the same time, the Queen and Louis XIV. entered Paris, escorted by the troops of Turenne. At their approach the Duke of Orleans retired to Blois, where he spent the remainder of his life in the obscurity befitting it. Mademoiselle de Montpensier was relegated to Bois le Comte; Broussel was incarcerated, and about a dozen members of the Parliament were banished to various places. An edict of amnesty was published, from which, however, the Prince of Condé, the Duke of Beaufort, and other leaders of the *Fronde*, were excepted. Subsequently, in 1654, Condé was sentenced to death by the Parliament, as a traitor.

Arrest of
De Retz.

Mazarin, however, still remained in exile. He could not yet rely on the disposition of the Parisians, especially so long as the arch intriguer, the Cardinal de Retz, remained among them. But that subtle prelate at length outwitted himself. The Queen on entering Paris had received him very graciously, and even attended one of his sermons at St. Germain l'Auxerrois. Deceived by these appearances, de Retz put too high a value on his services. In order to get rid of him, the Court offered him the management of the affairs of France at Rome; but De Retz demanded in addition, honours, governments, and money for his friends; and when these were refused, he began to negotiate with Condé. But the time for such pretensions was past. On December 19th, after paying a visit to the Queen, he was arrested by a captain of the guard, and confined at Vincennes; whence he was afterwards removed to Nantes. This was the end of his political career; for though he contrived to escape from Nantes, whence he proceeded into Spain, and afterwards to Rome, he was not allowed to return to France during the lifetime of Mazarin.¹ De Retz has pre-

¹ After the death of Mazarin, however, de Retz obtained the archbishopric of Paris. His uncle, the old Archbishop Gondi, died in

served a great reputation chiefly through his literary talent. As a politician he had no patriotic, nor even definite views; he loved disturbances, partly for their own sake, partly for the advantage he derived from them. After the pacification of Paris, the malcontents in the provinces were soon reduced. Bordeaux, where the *Fronde* had revived under the name of *L'Ormée*, was one of the last places to submit.

While these things were going on, Mazarin had joined Turenne and his army near Bar; and towards the end of January, 1653, he set out for Paris, which he entered February 3rd. Louis XIV. went out in state to meet him, and gave him a place in his own carriage. It is said that the Cardinal had distributed money among the leaders of the mob to cheer him on his entrance; it is certain that he was not only received with acclamation by the populace, but also feasted by the magistrates. The jurists of the Parliament displayed servility, and he received the visits of some of those very counsellors who had set a price upon his head. Such was the end of the *Fronde*; a movement without grandeur or possible result, whose sterility only confirmed the power of the King and of the minister. From this time till the end of his life Mazarin reigned with absolute power; for he maintained the same influence over the young King as he had previously exerted over Louis's mother. His avarice and despotism grew worse than before. The management of the finances was intrusted to the most unworthy persons, among whom Fouquet astonished Europe by his magnificence. Mazarin made the interests of France subordinate to his own avaricious views, and his plans for the advancement of his family. Fortune seemed to favour all his enterprises. His nieces, the Mancini, celebrated for their beauty, were all married into princely houses; and Louis XIV. himself was with difficulty dissuaded from giving his hand to one of the six.

Mazarin
returns.—
End of the
Fronde.

The *Fronde* is the last occasion on which we find the French nobles arrayed in open war against the Crown. Henceforth they became the mere satellites of the Court, whose power was supported, and whose splendour was increased, by their presence. While these events were taking place in France, King Charles I. was publicly executed on the scaffold, January 1654. The *Mémoires* of de Retz terminate in 1655. They have been completed by Champollion-Figeac. (See *Coll. Michaud*, sér. iii. t. i.)

Common-
wealth in
England.

20th, 1649; the House of Peers, as well as the monarchy, was abolished, and the government of the kingdom conducted by the Commons; Cromwell gradually assumed the supreme power, both military and civil, and after reducing the Royalists by his victories in Ireland, Scotland, and England, and reviving by his vigorous foreign policy the lustre of the English name, he finally, in December, 1653, caused himself to be named "Lord Protector."

The war
against
Spain.

Meanwhile the Spanish war had been going on, with disastrous consequences to the French. The Spaniards had good leaders in the Archduke Leopold William and Don John of Austria, to whom was now added the great Condé. They also received material assistance from the Emperor Ferdinand III. In spite of the Peace of Westphalia, Ferdinand sent thousands of men into Flanders under the flag of Charles IV., Duke of Lorraine, who, since his quarrels with France, had become a sort of partizan chief. Don John, whose exploit in saving Naples from the French we have already related, and who subsequently recovered from them the Tuscan ports, had, in 1651, laid siege to Barcelona; which city, after a blockade of thirteen months, both by sea and land, at length surrendered (October 12th, 1652). Gerona, Palamos, Balaguer, and other places next fell; and all Catalonia was ultimately reunited to the Spanish Crown, from which it had been separated during a period of thirteen years. In the same year the Spaniards wrested back from the French Gravelines and Dunkirk. Their conquest of Dunkirk had been facilitated by the conduct of the English Government, which had offered D'Estrades, the French commandant of Dunkirk, a large sum to put that place in their hands. D'Estrades honourably refused to accept the bribe, but referred the English agent to his own Court. Mazarin was inclined to cede Dunkirk to the English on condition of receiving 15,000 men and fifty vessels to act against the French rebels and the Spaniards; but Anne of Austria would not consent. In consequence of this refusal, the English fleet under Blake defeated a French fleet which was proceeding to the relief of Dunkirk (September 14th, 1652); and four days after D'Estrades was compelled to surrender to the Spaniards. Yet so fearful were the French Government of bringing upon them another enemy, that even this gross outrage failed to produce a war with England.

Nothing decisive was achieved in the campaigns between the French and Spaniards till, in the year 1657, Cromwell threw the weight of England into the scale. The most prominent figures on the scene during this struggle were Condé and Turenne, who, like two Homeric heroes, seemed to hold in their hands the fortune of war. Their skill was conspicuously displayed in 1654, when Turenne compelled the Spaniards to raise the siege of Arras; but was prevented by the manœuvres of Condé from pursuing his advantage. It was in this school that the youthful Louis XIV. served his apprenticeship in arms. The campaign of 1655 was almost wholly unimportant; but the reverses of the French in the following year, as well as the failure of some negotiations with Spain, which would not consent to abandon Condé, induced Mazarin to enter into a close alliance with the Protector Cromwell.

Campaigns
of 1654 and
1655.

France had not been so forward as Spain in recognizing the new order of things in England. The French Court, connected with Charles I. by his marriage with Henrietta, had viewed the rebellion with displeasure; and had exhibited this feeling by prohibiting the importation of certain articles of English manufacture. The English Parliament had naturally resented this conduct, and the establishment of the Republic had not been announced to France, as to other countries. Subsequently, in 1650, Mazarin had even listened to the proposals of the Dutch Stadholder, William II., to co-operate with him for the restoration of the Stuarts. The Spanish Cabinet, on the other hand, being desirous of the English alliance, had, immediately after the execution of Charles, acknowledged the Republic; and when Cromwell seized the supreme power, he was not only congratulated by the Spanish ambassador, but even informed that if he should assume the crown, the King of Spain would venture his own to defend him in it.¹ At a later period, however, Mazarin, seeing the necessity for the English alliance, became a rival suitor for Cromwell's friendship. But the Protector, though well aware of the advantages of his position, was for some time prevented by a war with the Dutch from declaring for either nation.

Instead of that sympathy and support which the English

¹ Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 759.

Dutch
hostility to
English
Republic.

Republicans might naturally have expected from the Dutch Commonwealth, which English blood and treasure had contributed to establish, the States-General had interposed to save the life of Charles I.; had acknowledged his son as lawful King of England, condoled with him on the "murder," as they styled it, of his royal father, and given him an asylum in their dominions.¹ This conduct was influenced by the youthful Stadholder, William II., who, having married Mary, the eldest daughter of Charles I., was naturally in favour of the Stuarts; and he had at various times supplied Queen Henrietta with arms, ammunition, and soldiers in aid of her husband's cause. In this policy William was supported by the Dutch clergy and the populace; which, incited by its ministers, was so furious against the English Parliament, or "rebels," that Strickland, the Parliamentary envoy, durst not leave his lodgings; and on May 2nd, 1649, Dr. Dorislaus, his colleague, was murdered. The higher classes of the Dutch alone, and especially in the province of Holland, where the principles of an aristocratic republic prevailed, as well as with a view to commercial interests, were for the English Parliament, and advocated at least a strict neutrality. These principles had even threatened to bring the province of Holland into a dangerous collision with the Stadholder. After the peace with Spain, the question had arisen as to the reduction of the army, and what regiments were to be dismissed; and on these points the States of Holland were at complete variance with the Stadholder. They had shown a disposition to assert the right of self-government on these and other subjects, so that it even became a question whether the supreme power was to be vested in the States-General, or whether each province was to form an independent State. William attempted to decide this question by force, and despatched some of his troops against Amsterdam, while the citizens prepared to defend themselves by cutting the dykes; when the young prince was fortunately saved from this foolish enterprise by the advice of his relative, Van Beverweert, and the mediation of the States-General. William's negotiations, before mentioned, with the French Court for the restoration of the Stuarts,² which he had entered into without consulting

¹ Harris, *Life of Cromwell*, p. 249.

² On this subject see D'Estrades, *Lettres et Négociations*.

the States, were cut short by death. He was carried off by the small-pox, November 6th, 1650, in the twenty-fifth year of his age. A week after his death his wife gave birth to a son, William Henry, the future King of England.

The death of William was followed by a change in the constitution of the United Netherlands. In a great assembly of the States, held at the Hague in January, 1651, Holland had succeeded in establishing the principle that, though the union should be maintained, there should be no Stadholder of the United Netherlands; that each province should conduct its own affairs; and that the army should be under the direction of the States-General. In conformity with this decision, the office of Stadholder remained vacant till 1672. These events, however, not having produced any sensible alteration in the general conduct of the Dutch towards England, the Parliament, with a view to change this disposition, sent St. John, Lord Chief Justice, and Mr. Walter Strickland as ambassadors extraordinary to the Hague; and, to prevent a repetition of the former violence, forty gentlemen were appointed to accompany them. The ambassadors were instructed to propose a complete union and coalition between the two republics, and to insist that no enemy of the English Commonwealth should be sheltered in the Dutch provinces. But they could not succeed in bringing the States into their views, and were even again publicly insulted in the streets.¹ There is no doubt that a great deal of commercial jealousy lay at the bottom of all these proceedings. The Dutch were now at the height of their commercial prosperity, and besides their large colonial trade, which often clashed with that of England, they almost monopolized the carrying trade of Europe. Sir Henry Vane, who was the chief director of all the transactions with the Dutch, declared it to be his fixed opinion that the commercial interests of Holland and England were irreconcilable, and that, for a permanent peace, the two republics must either form a coalition or else that the English must subjugate the Dutch Republic and reduce it to the condition of a province.² Soon after the return of the English ambassadors from their fruitless errand, the House of Commons passed the celebrated Navigation Act, by which it was ordained that goods from

Revolution
in Holland.

The Navi-
gation Act.

¹ Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 182; Ludlow, vol. i. p. 344.

² Stubbe, *Further Justification of the War with the United Netherlands*, p. 118 sqq. 4to, London, 1673.

Asia, Africa, and America should be imported only in English bottoms, as also goods from any part of Europe, unless they were the produce or manufacture of the country to which the vessels belonged. The States-General sent ambassadors to London to endeavour to mitigate this law; but the Parliament, on its side, met their demands with others concerning the massacre that had been committed at Amboyna,¹ the fisheries, the right of the flag, etc.

War
between
England
and Hol-
land.

It was during these negotiations that an apparently accidental collision between the English and Dutch fleets produced a war between the countries. The renowned Dutch admiral Tromp, being compelled, as he alleged, by stress of weather to take refuge at Dover with a fleet of more than forty sail, there met with Admiral Blake, who commanded a far inferior force; a battle, by whomsoever provoked, ensued, and was fought with obstinacy till night parted the combatants, when the Dutch retired, with some loss, to their own coast (May 19th, 1652). At the news of this affair the Parliament ordered all Dutch ships to be seized, and made preparations for a vigorous war. The Dutch sent the Pensionary Pauw to London to attempt a reconciliation; but the Parliament would listen to no explanations, demanded reparation, and, on its being refused, declared war (July).² In 1652 and the following year several sanguinary battles were fought, in which Blake, Ayscue, Monk, and Penn distinguished themselves on the side of the English, and Tromp, De Ruyter, and De Witt on that of the Dutch.³ Victory sometimes favoured one side, sometimes the other; but, on the whole, the Dutch suffered most, and especially in their commerce. They are said to have lost more during these two years than in the whole eighty years of their struggle with Spain. At length

¹ The Dutch had, in 1623, massacred the English settlers in Amboyna.

² Dumont, t. vi. pt. ii. p. 28, 31; also, *Ordinance of the States-General*, *ib.* p. 35.

³ The principal actions were, in 1652, between Sir G. Ayscue and De Ruyter, off Plymouth, August 16th (undecided); Bourne and Penn's victory over De Witt and De Ruyter, off the Kentish coast, September 28th; Tromp's victory over Blake in the Downs, November 28th, after which the Dutch admiral fixed a broom to his mainmast. In 1653 Blake and Monk defeated Tromp and De Ruyter off Portland, February 18th; the English also gained several smaller victories this year, besides the decisive one mentioned in the text.

they were so crippled by the great action fought in July, 1653, in which the gallant Tromp lost his life, that they were glad to accept of a peace on the terms dictated by England.

Cromwell's foreign policy was as vigorous as his domestic. It was his hope, he used to say, to make the name of *Englishman* as much respected as ever that of *Roman* had been. He sought to obtain a footing on the Continent, both as a means of extending English trade and of supporting the Protestant interest in Europe. Hence when Beverningk came as ambassador from the States to treat for peace, the Protector, as the Parliament had done before, insisted on a union of the two republics; but this the Dutch immediately rejected as impracticable, nor would they listen to another proposition that there should be three Englishmen either in the Dutch Council of State or in the States-General, and three Dutchmen in the English Council.¹ The English demands were also in other respects so high, that the Dutch prepared to strengthen themselves with alliances in order to continue the war; and especially they entered into a treaty with Denmark, whose royal family was connected with the Stuarts, and that Power engaged to shut the Sound against the English. De Witt, Grand Pensionary of Holland and President of the States-General, now almost directed the counsels of the United Netherlands. At the time of his election, in 1653, he was only twenty-five years of age; but he had already displayed all the best qualities of a statesman, besides a love of literature and a philosophical talent which had been developed by the teaching of Descartes. Although public feeling in the Netherlands was very much inflamed against England, De Witt was so convinced of the necessity for a peace, that he did not hesitate to stem the popular current, and, as Cromwell also lowered his demands, and abandoned the idea of a coalition, a treaty was at length concluded, April 15th, 1654. A chief point of contention was the sovereignty of the seas.² The Dutch yielded the honour of the flag, and agreed to salute English men-of-war by striking the flag and lowering the topsail; but the Protector, on his side, abated some of

Cromwell's
policy.

Peace with
Holland.

¹ Van Beverningk ap. Van Kampen, *Gesch. der Niederlande*, B. ii. S. 151.

² The English demands on this head were founded on Selden's *Mare Clausum*. Harris, *Life of Cromwell*, p. 264.

his former pretensions, as, for instance, that whole fleets should render these honours to a single man-of-war, and that the Dutch should not send more than a certain number of ships of war into the British seas without the express permission of England. The Dutch agreed not to help the Stuarts, and to make atonement and compensation for the massacre at Amboyna and the injury done to English trade in the East Indies and other places. The province of Holland alone, in a separate article, engaged that no prince of the House of Orange should ever be invested with the dignity of Stadholder, or even be appointed Captain-General.¹ The King of Denmark was included in the treaty, the States-General engaging to make good any losses the English merchants had sustained by the seizure of their ships at Copenhagen.

Cromwell
makes war
on Spain.

After the conclusion of this peace Cromwell was at liberty to take a part in the great struggle between France and Spain, both of which Powers were soliciting his friendship. The Protector himself, as well as most of his Council, preferred a war with Spain. An attack upon the Spanish trade and colonies afforded a tempting prospect, whilst a war with France offered no such advantages. Cromwell's religious views had also great influence in determining him against Spain, which, with Austria, was the chief supporter in Europe of that Popery which the Puritans so much abhorred. The same feeling had imbued the Protector with a great admiration of Sweden, distinguished among the northern nations as the champion of Protestantism, and therefore made him averse to a war with France, the close ally of Sweden. Thus during this period the foreign policy of the two maritime republics took an exactly opposite direction. After the Peace of Westphalia, it was no longer Spain, but France, as an ambitious and powerful neighbour, that became the object of apprehension in the United Netherlands; whilst in the great northern war entered into by Sweden about this time against Poland, Denmark and their allies, the Dutch, in the interests of their Baltic commerce, opposed the Swedes and supported the Danes.

In the course of 1654 Cromwell made some advantageous commercial treaties with Sweden, Portugal, and Denmark; Portugal especially granted the English an exclusive right of

¹ Dumont, t. vi. pt. ii. p.

commerce with herself and her colonies.¹ The negotiations were continued with the Spanish Cabinet, which made the Protector the most dazzling offers. Besides the personal bait of assisting him to the Crown of England, Spain offered to aid him in taking Calais, provided he would help Condé in a descent upon Guienne. But, while Cromwell pretended to listen to these offers, his resolution had been already taken. His demands upon Spain were such as it was impossible for that Power to grant—free trade with the Spanish Indies, and complete exemption for British subjects from the jurisdiction of the Inquisition.² The Spanish ambassador said that “to ask a liberty from the Inquisition and free sailing to the West Indies was to ask his master’s two eyes.” In the winter of 1654-5 two fleets left the shores of England, whose destination was unknown. One, commanded by Penn, with a body of troops under Venables, sailed to the West Indies, with the design of seizing the Spanish colony of Hispaniola. It failed in that enterprise; and, though it took Jamaica, both commanders were on their return incarcerated in the Tower. The other fleet, under Blake, which entered the Mediterranean, had a sort of roving commission. It employed itself in taking some French ships, in exacting reparation from the Grand Duke of Tuscany for some alleged former losses, while the Pope trembled at its neighbourhood; it then sailed to the coast of Africa, to chastise the Deys of Algiers and Tunis for their piracies. But its principal object was the seizure of the Spanish American galleons. The Spaniards, on receiving the news of the attack upon their West Indian possessions, immediately declared war against England, and Blake received fresh instructions to lie in wait for their American fleet. For want of water he was compelled to abandon the enterprise to one of his captains, who succeeded in capturing two galleons and destroying others; and Blake himself soon after met his death in another and more honourable enterprise against the Spaniards in the Canaries.

Although Cromwell had broken with Spain, he had not yet made any alliance with France. The two countries were for some time kept apart by a religious question. Early in 1655 the Duke of Savoy had commenced a persecution against the

Persecution
of the
Vaudois.

¹ Dumont, t. vi. pt. ii. p. 80 sqq.

² For the negotiations with France and Spain, see Thurloe, vol. i. p. 706, and p. 759 sqq.

Vaudois who dwelt in the High Alps of Piedmont. The numbers of these poor people had increased so much that there was no longer room for them in the three upper valleys, in which alone their religious liberties were guaranteed, and they had consequently descended lower down the mountains. In the middle of winter appeared an edict ordering them, under pain of death, to quit their new abodes in three days, unless they could make it appear that they were become Roman Catholics. Exasperated at this cruel proceeding, their brethren in the High Alps flew to arms, and solicited the assistance of the Vaudois of Dauphiné and of the Protestants of Geneva and Switzerland; but before help could arrive, they were attacked, and many of them massacred, by the Piedmontese troops, in conjunction with some French troops of the army of Lombardy. How the news of this act was received by the Protestants of Europe may be imagined; the feeling excited in England is shown by Milton's sonnet on the subject.¹ Cromwell immediately ordered a general fast, and set on foot a subscription for the sufferers, which produced nearly £40,000. He also desired Mazarin to put an end to the persecution. He told the Cardinal that he well knew that the Duke of Savoy was in the power of the French Court, and that if they did not restrain that Sovereign, he must presently break with them. Mazarin, though he promised to use his good offices, at first demurred to this demand as unreasonable; but dreading the vigorous steps which Cromwell was preparing to take, and being apprehensive of the effect of his applications to the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, the States-General, and the Swiss Protestant cantons, the Cardinal obtained from the Duke of Savoy an amnesty for the insurgents, and an indemnity for the families which had been expelled.

Soon after the settlement of this affair, a treaty of peace and commerce was concluded between England and France (November 3rd).² The most important provision of it, with

¹ *Sonnet* xviii. Milton also wrote, as Latin secretary, several State letters on the occasion. See also Sir Samuel Morland's *Hist. of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piedmont*; and *Articles accordés par Charles Emmanuel à ses sujets habitants des vallées de Piedmont*, in Dumont, t. vi. pt. ii. p. 114.

² Dumont, t. vi. pt. ii. p. 121. It is a singular feature of this treaty that mutual guarantees are given against piracy. The police of the seas was not even yet properly established.

regard to political matters, was that the Stuarts and their adherents were not to be harboured in France. Although England was now at war with Spain, no military alliance was concluded between England and France. Mazarin was not yet prepared to pay Cromwell's price for it—the surrender of Dunkirk, when captured, to England. Hence probably an attempt of the Cardinal's to negotiate with Spain in 1656; on the failure of which he again resorted to Cromwell, prepared to submit to his conditions. On the 23rd of March, 1657, a treaty was accordingly signed at Paris, by which it was agreed that 6,000 English foot, half to be paid by France and half by England, should join the French army in Flanders. Gravelines, Mardyck, and Dunkirk were to be attacked with the aid of an English fleet; Dunkirk, when taken, was to be delivered to the English; and the other two towns, if captured previously, were to be placed in the hands of England, as security till the condition respecting Dunkirk should be fulfilled.¹

The help of the English troops under General Reynolds, and of the English fleet, turned the war in Flanders to the advantage of the French. In the campaign of 1657, Montmédy, St. Venant, and Mardyck were taken; when Mardyck, in the capture of which an English fleet had assisted, was, according to treaty, put into the hands of the English. Early in the following spring Cromwell compelled Mazarin reluctantly to fulfil his engagements by ordering the siege of Dunkirk. It was a common opinion that Mazarin would have directed the allied forces against Cambray, in order to make himself bishop and prince of that city, and the attention of the Spaniards had been chiefly turned towards the defence of that place. Don John of Austria was now Governor of the Spanish Netherlands. In 1656, the Emperor Ferdinand, with the view of pleasing the cabinet of Madrid, and in the hope of marrying his son to the heiress of the Spanish Crown, had made room for Don John by recalling the Archduke Leopold William from Flanders, and at the same time Fuensaldaña, Leopold's lieutenant, was replaced by Caracena. A jealousy between Condé and Leopold had prevented them from acting cordially together; but the haughty and impracticable Bourbon did not co-operate much better

War in
Flanders.

¹ Dumont, t. vi. pt. ii. p. 224.

Battle of
the Dunes.

with the new governor. The Spaniards were astonished to find that Dunkirk, instead of Cambray, was the point of attack. Turenne, after a long and difficult march, had invested that place (May 25th, 1658). Don John, aware, too late, of his mistake, flew to its relief in such haste that he left his baggage and artillery a day's march in the rear, and encamped in presence of the enemy without the means of fortifying his position. In vain had Condé remonstrated; his sure and experienced eye foresaw the inevitable result. Next day, when Turenne marched out from his lines to engage the Spaniards, Condé inquired of the Duke of Gloucester, the younger brother of Charles II., who was by his side, "Have you ever seen a battle?" "Not yet." "Then in half an hour you will see us lose one."¹ His prediction was speedily verified. The artillery of Turenne, aided by that of some English frigates on the coast, to which the Spaniards had not the means of replying, had already thrown them into disorder before the engagement became general. The charge of three or four thousand of Cromwell's veterans, composing the left wing under Lockhart, decided the fortune of the day. The Spaniards attempted to rally, but were dispersed by the French cavalry. On the right the French infantry were equally successful, in spite of all the efforts of Condé. The rout was complete: 1,000 Spaniards and Germans were killed or wounded, 3,000 or 4,000 more were made prisoners, including many general officers; Condé himself escaped with difficulty. This battle, fought on the 14th of June, 1658, called the "Battle of the Dunes," from its being fought on the *dunes* or sand hills which line the coast in that neighbourhood, decided the fate of Dunkirk. That place capitulated on the 23rd, and on the 25th, Louis XIV. in person surrendered it to Lockhart. Lord Fauconberg, Cromwell's son-in-law, who was sent to compliment Louis, was received with princely honours; and in return, the Duke of Créqui and Mazarin's nephew, Mancini, were despatched to the Protector with the present of a magnificent sword, and an apology from the Cardinal for not coming in person to pay his respects to so great a man! The remainder of the campaign of 1658 was equally fortunate for Turenne. In a short time he took Bergues, Furnes, Gravelines, and other places, and overran

¹ *Mém. du duc d'York.*

all Flanders to within a few leagues of Brussels. These reverses, coupled with others in Italy and in the war with the Portuguese, induced the Spanish Cabinet to think of a pacification; especially as Spain had now become in a manner isolated through the death of the Emperor Ferdinand III. and the policy of France with regard to the Rhenish League.

The state of Germany after the Peace of Westphalia was eminently favourable to French interests. Sweden, the close ally of France, held large possessions in the Empire, which gave her a voice in the Imperial diet. The German princes had become even more independent of the Emperor, and several of them looked up to France for support and protection. In 1651, two leagues had been formed in Germany, with the professed object of carrying out the Peace of Westphalia. The first of these leagues was occasioned by the disorders committed by the troops of the Duke of Lorraine; through whom, as we have seen, the Emperor assisted Spain in her struggle with France. To avert this scourge, the German princes most exposed to it, namely, the Electors of Mainz, Trèves, and Cologne, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, and the Bishop of Münster, formed a League at Frankfurt (March, 1651), which they subsequently induced the Circles of Suabia, Franconia, and Lower Saxony to join. This union, from the religion of those who formed it, was called the *Catholic League*. About the same time, in North Germany, the Queen of Sweden, as Duchess of Bremen, the Dukes of Brunswick and Luneburg, and the Landgravine of Hesse also entered into a treaty, called the *Protestant League*, on the pretext of maintaining their territories and upholding the Peace of Westphalia. These leagues afforded Mazarin an opportunity to meddle in the affairs of Germany. He demanded that France should be admitted into them as guarantor of the treaties of Westphalia, and he subsequently made them the basis of the *Rhenish League*, in which French influence was predominant. These leagues were naturally regarded with suspicion and dislike by the Emperor; who, alarmed by the prospect of further coalitions, caused the provisions of the treaties of Münster and Osnabrück to be confirmed by the Diet of Ratisbon in 1654.¹ This was called the *Complement*

State of
Germany.

¹ This is the last Diet presided over by an Emperor in person, and its recess the last ever drawn up.—Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. iv. S. 303.

of the *Peace of Westphalia*, and served as the groundwork of the capitulation subsequently extorted from Ferdinand's son and successor, Leopold. Treaties in 1656 with the Elector of Brandenburg and the Elector Palatine served further to strengthen French influence in Germany. The Palatine had, in fact, sold himself for three years to France, in consideration of an annual pension.

Death of
Ferdinand
III.

Such being the state of things at the time of the somewhat sudden death of the Emperor Ferdinand III.¹ (April 2nd, 1657), Mazarin formed the plan of wresting the imperial crown from the House of Austria, and even of obtaining it for Louis XIV. The opportunity was rendered more promising by the circumstances of the Imperial House. Ferdinand's eldest son, whom he had procured to be elected King of the Romans, with the title of Ferdinand IV., had died in 1654; and the Emperor had not since succeeded in procuring that dignity, a necessary passport to the imperial crown, for his second son, Leopold Ignatius, who was now only seventeen years of age, and consequently still a minor. The situation was further embarrassed by the circumstance that the Emperor, only two days before his death, had signed an alliance with John Casimir, King of Poland, and had pledged himself to assist that Sovereign in the war then going on between him and Charles X., King of Sweden; a policy which was adopted by the Archduke Leopold William, the uncle and guardian of the youthful heir of the House of Austria.

French in-
trigues for
the Empire.

When the news of Ferdinand III.'s death reached Paris, Mazarin despatched the Marquis de Lionne and Marshal Gramont into Germany to canvass for the imperial crown, under the ostensible pretext of demanding reparation for some violations of the *Peace of Westphalia*. Lionne was a dexterous and practised diplomatist; but the real weight of the embassy rested with Gramont, a man of the world, with manners at once agreeable and dignified. His task it was to gain by his social qualities the goodwill of the German Electors and Princes in those interminable banquets and drinking bouts which sometimes lasted from midday almost to midnight.² It is probable that Mazarin never seriously

¹ Caused by a shock, when ill, at the danger of an infant son, from the effects of a fire. Hormayr, *Oestr. Plutarch*, ap. Menzel, *ibid.* S. 305.

² Gramont, in his *Mémoires*, thus describes a dinner at Count

thought that he should be able to obtain the imperial crown for Louis. His real design seems to have been to transfer it to the Elector of Bavaria, or at all events, to wrest it in any other manner from the House of Austria; and the canvassing for Louis would serve at least to create division and to gain time. The French ambassadors, on their way through Heidelberg, renewed the alliance with the Elector Palatine, who, for a further sum of 140,000 crowns, and a yearly payment of 40,000 more for three years, placed himself entirely at their disposal. France might also reckon on the three spiritual Electors; among whom the Elector of Mainz alone was actuated by honest, and what he deemed patriotic, motives. Thus, half the Electoral College had been gained, but not the most influential half. Of the other four Electors, John George II. of Saxony was for the House of Austria, out of love for precedent and custom, and also, it is said, from the hope, which everybody but himself saw to be chimerical, of marrying his daughter to the youthful Leopold. Frederick William of Brandenburg was also in favour of Leopold. Political motives connected with the invasion of Poland by Charles X. of Sweden, and his own views on the duchy of Prussia had now induced the far-seeing Elector of Brandenburg to renounce the Swedish alliance, and consequently that of France, for a league with the House of Austria and the Poles, as will be explained in the following chapter. Leopold himself, as hereditary King of Bohemia, the crown of which country, as well as that of Hungary, he had received during his father's lifetime, possessed the Bohemian Electorate; but being a minor, his vote was not yet valid. The eighth and last Elector, Ferdinand Maria of Bavaria, was hesitating and undecided.

It was not without great opposition that the French ambassadors were admitted into the Electoral Diet, and they soon perceived that Louis's chance was hopeless. The Elector of Mainz, however, was as desirous as the French Court itself to break the Austrian succession. At his suggestion, Gramont

The
Election.

Fürstenberg's: "Le dîner dura depuis midi jusqu'à neuf heures de soir, au bruit des trompettes et des timbales, qu'on eut toujours dans les oreilles: on y but bien 2,000 ou 3,000 santés; la table fut étayée, tous les électeurs dansèrent dessus; le maréchal (Gramont) qui étoit boiteux, y menoit le branle; tous les convives s'enivrèrent."—Petitot, t. lvi. p. 463. (2nde sér.)

proceeded to Munich, urged the young Elector to become a candidate for the imperial crown, and offered him a yearly pension of a million crowns from France in support of that dignity. Ferdinand Maria was timid, quiet, and devout; and though urged by his consort, a princess of the ever-aspiring House of Savoy, to seize the glittering prize, he listened in preference to his confessor and to his mother, an Austrian archduchess, who dissuaded him from the attempt. The Elector of Mainz now made another effort to separate the Empire from the Austrian monarchy, by proposing that Leopold's uncle, the Archduke Leopold William, the former governor of the Spanish Netherlands, should assume the imperial crown; but this also was declined, and Leopold requested that the votes destined for himself should be transferred to his nephew.

Election of
Leopold.

As it was now plain that the Empire must fall into the hands of Ferdinand's son, the French Court directed all its endeavours to cripple his power, by imposing on him a rigorous capitulation through the German Princes, who were indeed themselves desirous to restrain the imperial authority. At his election he engaged, among many other articles which regarded Germany, not to furnish the enemies of France with arms, money, troops, provisions, or other commodities; not to afford lodgings, winter quarters, or passage to any troops intended to act against any Power comprised in the treaties of Osnabrück and Münster; nor to interfere in any way in the war then going on in Italy and the Circle of Burgundy.¹ Leopold I. received the Roman Crown July 31st, 1658, after an interregnum of about sixteen months. He had now completed his eighteenth year, and was therefore, according to the Golden Bull, no longer a minor. As a younger son, he had been destined for the Church, and his education had been intrusted to the Jesuits; so that when his destination was changed by the death of his brother, there was not perhaps a more learned sovereign in Europe. He had displayed from his youth a remarkable piety, and appears to have been a well-meaning prince, but of narrow mind and little spirit, the slave of forms and ceremonies, which he willingly adopted to avoid contact with the outer world, and he was glad to let his Lord Chamberlain rule in his stead.

¹ The capitulation is in Dumont, t. vi. pt. ii. p. 226 sq.

The Imperial Capitulation would have been of little service to France without some material guarantees for its observance; and these Mazarin provided by converting the two German Leagues already mentioned into one, styled the **RHENISH LEAGUE**. Within a month of Leopold's coronation, this union, purporting to be for the maintenance of the Peace of Westphalia, was signed by the three Spiritual Electors, the Bishop of Münster, the Count Palatine of Neuburg, the Dukes of Brunswick, the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and the King of Sweden on the one part, and by the King of France on the other. The Confederates pledge themselves, without regard to difference of religion, to stand truly by one another, and to unite in case of an attack; and with this view to keep continually on foot an army of 2,300 horse and 4,900 foot. Louis XIV. on his side engaged to hold in readiness 800 horse and 1,600 foot, and five guns, whenever they should be required. These forces were styled "the Army of his Most Christian Majesty and of the allied Electors and Princes."¹ A Directory of the League was established at Frankfurt, under the presidency of the Elector of Mainz, to watch over the common interests. The Rhenish League was the culminating point of French policy with regard to Germany. Its immediate object was to prevent the Emperor from interfering in the war in Flanders and Italy; and hence the French ambassadors regarded it as a complete compensation for their failure with regard to the imperial crown—indeed, as a triumph. The accession to it of so many Catholic prelates and princes, much to the vexation of Pope Alexander VII. and the Court of Rome, showed that the old spirit of intolerance was dying out, and that the traces of the religious war of Germany were obliterated, never more to be revived. The League was renewed for three years in August, 1660, and flourished long, but at the expense of France, which not only paid the princes belonging to it, but also their ministers and mistresses. Leopold returned no answer to the ambassadors of the Confederates sent to acquaint him with the establishment of the League; yet he subsequently gave it a sort of tacit recognition, by demanding from Louis XIV., as a member of it, a contingent of troops to act against the Turks. Louis sent double the number demanded, and it was indeed the

The
Rhenish
League.

¹ Londorp, *Acta Publ.* Th. viii. p. 417 sq. ap. Menzel, B. iv. S. 309.

French who, in the Turkish campaign of 1664, carried away the chief honour.

France
and Spain
negotiate.

The interregnum in the Empire, the subsequent capitulation of the new Emperor, the Rhenish League, the alliance of the House of Austria with John Casimir of Poland, and its consequent share in the war against the Swedes, were all circumstances which precluded the Spaniards from the hope of any further assistance from Germany; and this circumstance, coupled with the losses and reverses already mentioned, made them anxious for peace. On the other hand, these events were encouraging to France, and might well have induced her to prolong the war and complete the conquest of Flanders. But France herself was exhausted, and her finances in disorder; Mazarin, with increasing years, was become more desirous of peace; and Anne of Austria, who wished not to see her native country too much abased, was incessant in her entreaties that he should put an end to the war. The Queen-Mother had also another motive: she wished to marry Louis to the Spanish Infanta. An obstacle which had stood in the way of this union during the negotiations of 1656 was now removed. At that time Maria Theresa was sole heiress of the Spanish crown; and for this reason a marriage between her and the King of France was of course distasteful to the Spaniards. But in 1657 Philip IV. had had a son born to him, afterwards Charles II., and the objection mentioned had consequently in a great measure disappeared, though the chances of the Spanish succession were still strong enough to be alluring to the French minister. Such a succession would be far more than equivalent to any advantages which might be expected from continuing the war, especially as it was held that in any event the Spanish Netherlands would, according to the customs of those countries, fall to the Infanta, as Philip's child by his first wife.

Plans for
the marriage
of
Louis XIV.

Under these circumstances, negotiations were renewed between the French and Spanish Courts in 1658. The dilatoriness of Philip IV. was hastened by a stratagem. Mazarin entered into negotiations with the Duke of Savoy for a marriage between Margaret, daughter of that prince, and Louis XIV.; and the Courts of France and Turin met at Lyons. The fear that this union would be accomplished, and that France would then carry on the war to extremities, induced Philip to send an ambassador to Lyons, to offer the Infanta's

hand to the French King. The Piedmontese princess, whose feelings had thus been trifled with, was now dismissed with a promise of marriage in case the negotiations should fail;¹ the preliminaries of a peace were discussed at Lyons, and subsequently arranged at Paris, and in May, 1659, a suspension of arms was concluded. But now another obstacle arose where it might have been least expected. Louis XIV. had fallen desperately in love with Mazarin's niece, Mary Mancini, a young lady of no great beauty, but clever and fond of poetry and literature. It was no doubt the Queen-Mother who put an end to this unsuitable amour; yet, whatever may have been Mazarin's real feelings, his letters to the young King on this subject display the soundest sense, conveyed in the noblest language.² He sent off Mary Mancini to La Rochelle,³ and on the following day he himself left Paris for the frontier, to negotiate the peace. He and the Spanish minister, Don Louis de Haro, held their conferences in the Isle of Pheasants in the Bidasoa, near Hendaye, which was neutral ground; for Haro would not yield precedence by going to the Cardinal at St. John de Luz. Mazarin displayed at these conferences a regal splendour which quite threw the Spanish minister into the shade. At the first interview the Cardinal appeared with twenty-seven court carriages, each drawn by six horses, and filled with French nobles, and attended by a splendid retinue of pages, guards, and livery servants.

The question respecting the Prince of Condé formed a difficult point in the negotiations. Spain, in her treaty with that prince, had engaged to effect his restoration to all his honours and governments. After Condé's treasons, this was a hard stipulation for the French Court to accept; Mazarin, moreover, owed the Prince a grudge for his personal insults. The Cardinal, however, receded so far from the preliminaries as to promise that Condé should have the Government of Burgundy, and his son the place of Lord High Chamberlain; but in return for these concessions he exacted the towns of

¹ *Mém. de Gramont*, t. ii. p. 184.

² See particularly his letter of August 28th, 1659. *Lettres de Mazarin*, t. i. p. 303 sqq. (ed. Amst. 1745).

³ It was on this occasion that she addressed to Louis the well-known words: "Vous êtes Roi, vous pleurez, et je pars!"—*Mém. de Montglat*, p. 351.

Avesnes, Philippeville, and Marienburg in the Netherlands, and the county of Conflans in the Pyrenees. When the negotiations had made some progress, Gramont went in state to Madrid to demand the hand of the Infanta for his royal master. Louis had a rival in the young Emperor Leopold, who, in spite of his capitulation, had offered to declare war against France in return for the Infanta's hand. But peace had now become a necessity for Spain, and the offer of Louis was accepted.

The TREATY OF THE PYRENEES, which restored peace to France and Spain, was signed November 7th, 1659. The conditions were almost entirely in favour of France. Spain ceded in the north all Artois (except St. Omer and Aire), and several towns in Flanders, Hainault and Luxembourg, together with Marienburg, Philippeville, and Avesnes between the Sambre and Meuse; in the south she abandoned Roussillon and Conflans, except the places on the Spanish side of the Pyrenees, and that part of Cerdagne lying on the French side of the same mountains. On the other hand, Spain recovered what she had lost in Italy. Louis engaged not to assist the Portuguese; and this had been a great allurements to the Spaniards to conclude the treaty, who were in hope to subdue Portugal after the peace. Spain in a great degree abandoned her ally, the Duke of Lorraine; for though Charles IV. was restored to his dominions, a considerable part of them, namely, Moyenvic, the Duchy of Bar, and the county of Clermont, was incorporated with France.¹ The Duke had attended the conferences in the vain hope of procuring better terms. Charles II. of England had also appeared on the Bidasoa. Cromwell was now dead; his son Richard had resigned the Protectorate, and the English Government was again in the hands of the Parliament. Don Louis de Haro wished to draw Mazarin into an alliance for Charles's restoration; but though the Cardinal dreaded the permanent establishment of the English Republic, he was not prepared to oppose it by entering into war.

The Treaty of the Pyrenees was followed by a marriage contract between Louis and the Infanta. In this instrument, Maria Theresa made that famous renunciation of all her prospective rights to the Spanish Crown, which afterwards

Treaty
of the
Pyrenees,
1659.

Louis
marries the
Infanta.

¹ Dumont, t. vi. pt. ii. p. 264.

led to the war of the Spanish Succession. It is probable that even the Spanish Court itself was not sincere in thinking that this renunciation would be observed. The wording of the very clause in which it was contained was calculated to raise questions likely to produce a war. The renunciation was made to depend on the payment of the dowry, and to extend to all inheritances and successions, whatever were their title, known or unknown.¹

The marriage could not be immediately celebrated, as, on account of the relationship of the parties, it was first necessary to procure a dispensation from Rome. Philip IV., too, who was then in bad health, wished to accompany his daughter to the frontier. The French Court therefore lingered during the winter in Provence; for which it had another motive in a wish to display its authority in those parts, which had been in a state of fermentation ever since the *Fronde*. Condé, who had written to the Cardinal to desire a reconciliation, visited the Court at Aix, in January, 1660. In the spring the French Court proceeded slowly through Perpignan to St. Jean de Luz, where it arrived May 8th; and three days afterwards Philip IV. came to St. Sebastian. The French and Spanish ministers, however, were delayed more than three weeks in settling some points with regard to the treaty; and it was not till June 3rd that Don Louis de Haro, being provided with the procuration of the French King, espoused the Infanta in his name at Fuenterrabia. On the following day Philip IV. met his sister, Anne of Austria, in the Isle of Pheasants. They had not seen each other during forty-five years. On this occasion the Infanta accompanied her father, and Louis XIV., concealed *incognito* among the young lords in his mother's suite, obtained the first view of his bride. Next day the Kings of Spain and France met upon the island and swore to the observance of the treaties. On June 7th the Infanta was delivered to her husband, and on the 9th the marriage was consummated at St. Jean de Luz. The Court then proceeded by easy journeys to Paris, which they entered in state August 26th.

The Peace of the Pyrenees was the last important act of Mazarin, whose life was now drawing to a close. By this treaty he completed the policy of Richelieu, and put the

Death of
Mazarin,
1661.

¹ Garden, t. ii. p. 29; Dumont, t. vi. pt. ii. p. 283.

finishing hand to the diplomatic triumphs of Münster and Osnabrück. It cannot be doubted that the Peace of Westphalia and that of the Pyrenees secured for some time the supremacy of France. The credit of both these measures is due to Mazarin; and some of the chief advantages of the latter were secured by the personal exercise of his extraordinary diplomatic talent.¹ That he made France pay dearly for these triumphs must be allowed. He enriched himself unscrupulously at her expense, and amassed a large fortune, which he made over in his last days to the King. To Louis he appears to have discharged his duties with fidelity. Some of his last days were spent in advising the young King as to his future course; and he recommended to Louis Le Tellier, Colbert, Pomponne, and other ministers who achieved so much for the greatness of France. The young monarch was already impatient to seize the administration. The control of Mazarin was becoming irksome to him; and the very next day after the Cardinal's death he announced to his Council, "For the future I shall be my own prime minister."

Cardinal Mazarin died March 8th, 1661, at the age of fifty-nine. Like Richelieu, he had conducted the affairs of France during a period of eighteen years.

¹ See the account of his negotiations at the Isle of Pheasants, in Garden, *Hist. des Traités de Paix*, t. ii.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE NORTH OF EUROPE (1644-1661)

HAVING thus described the manner in which France pursued the advantages which she had obtained at the Peace of Westphalia, we will now turn to Sweden, the companion of her policy, and partaker of the spoils.

Christina,
Queen of
Sweden.

In the first years of her reign, Christina, the daughter and successor of Gustavus Adolphus, displayed great industry and application to business, as well as extraordinary ability. She regularly attended the meetings of her Council, over which she acquired an astonishing influence; she made herself mistress of the questions to be discussed by perusing the state papers, whatever might be their length; and she had the faculty of stating the conclusions at which she arrived with great clearness and discrimination. She was resolved to govern by herself, and to discharge worthily the high functions to which she was called. She gave audience to all foreign ambassadors, and she is said to have taken a large personal share in effecting the Peace of Westphalia.¹ She also possessed uncommon literary talent. To some acquaintance with the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew tongues she added a knowledge of German, French, Italian, and Spanish; which she assures us she acquired without the aid of masters.² Her patronage of literature attracted to Stockholm a crowd of learned men, among whom may be named Grotius, Isaac Vossius, Meibomius, Gerdesius, and others, including René Descartes, the most original thinker of the age, who visited Stockholm in 1649, and died there in the following year. But unfortunately these pursuits disqualified Christina for

¹ See a character of Christina in Ranke's *Popes*, B. 8, § ix.

² *Vie de Christine, faite par elle-même*, p. 53. (In Archenholtz, *Mém. de Christine*, t. iii.).

her more serious duties. The foreigners by whom she was surrounded, by their descriptions of southern climates and southern art, created in her an aversion for her wintry realm, and the rustic simplicity of her subjects ; whilst their more philosophical discussions bred in her, if not positive atheism, at least an indifference for all religion, unless it were that of the Roman Catholic Church, as most indulgent to sins like hers. Hence she began gradually to entertain the idea of renouncing the crown, the duties of which seemed to debar her from scenes and studies more congenial to her temper. Other motives led her in the same direction. Besides her literary pursuits, Christina had also a taste for show and splendour. She was fond of masques and mythological ballets, in which she sometimes took a part herself, in costumes not remarkable for decorum. Her extravagance was so great that she was often in want of money for her daily expenses. She bestowed with a lavish hand the royal domains on her courtiers and favourites, in order that they might appear at her feasts and revels with princely splendour, and thus deprived the kingdom of resources which were afterwards employed by the nobles to establish their own power at the expense of the crown. The necessities in which she thus became involved strengthened her wish to quit a land whose climate, customs, and religion were alike distasteful to her. Already in 1651 she had proposed to abdicate, but had been diverted from the project by the advice of her counsellors. Three years later her embarrassments became so great that she determined to throw the burden from her shoulders, and to transfer the crown to her cousin, Charles Gustavus.

We have already had occasion to mention this prince in the narrative of the 'Thirty Years' War. He was son of the Count Palatine, John Casimir, by Catharine, sister of Gustavus Adolphus ; and was born at the castle of Nyköping, November 8th, 1622. All Sweden had desired a marriage between their Queen and the nephew of their great monarch, and in 1647 the States had earnestly pressed Christina to marry ; when she declared that if ever she did so, she would give the preference to her cousin, who had already proposed for her hand and been refused. In 1649, when the States renewed their request, Christina signified her resolution to remain single, but at the same time named her cousin as her successor on the throne. In the following year she was crowned with a

splendour hitherto unseen in Sweden. But the nomination of Charles Gustavus did not give general satisfaction. It was much opposed by the nobles, and especially by the now aged Oxenstiern, who could never be brought to give his consent. Nevertheless the States recognized Charles Gustavus, who, however, was obliged to promise Christina's privy counsellors that he would protect and maintain them in all the gifts they had received from her and to come under all sorts of engagements, both towards the Queen and the States. In June, 1654, Christina abdicated, stipulating that she should not be considered as a subject, nor be made responsible for the debts of the crown; and reserving as the source of her revenues several towns, provinces, and islands. Nobody then certainly knew that she had renounced the religion of her fathers; but her conversion to the Roman Catholic faith was suspected, nor was it long before she openly declared it.¹ The manner of her abdication resembled rather the flight of a criminal than the departure of a queen. Instead of proceeding to Germany in the fleet appointed to convey her with becoming state, she hastened through Denmark into the Netherlands, as if she were flying from shame.²

Charles X., for such was the title of the new monarch, found Sweden in a terrible state of exhaustion; which had arisen not only from Christina's expensive habits, but also from the position taken by Sweden as a conquering nation, and by efforts in the Thirty Years' War more than commensurate with its strength. The difficulty of the situation was enhanced by the peculiar constitution of the Assembly of the States, and by the great difference prevailing among the provinces composing the kingdom, which rendered it difficult to levy any general taxes, while it was almost impossible to make the nobles and clergy contribute their shares. Christina, by her lavish expenditure, had not only exhausted the ready money and credit of the State, but also, by the alienation of the crown lands, had sapped the very foundation of the public property. Thus Charles found the kingdom in a state

Charles X.
of Sweden.

¹ She was solemnly received into the Romish Church at Innsbruck, in November, 1655.

² Christina, after wandering over great part of the Continent, died at Rome in 1689. In the interval she twice revisited Sweden; in 1660 and 1667. To describe her way of life after her abdication belongs not to a general history, and would reflect but little credit on her character.

in which he must either declare a bankruptcy, or else endeavour to free himself from his burdens by a war which should maintain itself; for no small part of his expenses was occasioned by the maintenance of a numerous army of Swedes and German mercenaries, which had been kept on foot since the Thirty Years' War. Nor was he averse to the latter alternative. Naturally of a warlike disposition, his service under Torstenson had fitted him to become an able commander; he was now in the flower of his age, and was filled with the ambition of executing the plans of his uncle, and extending the Swedish dominion over all the countries contiguous to the Baltic.

Warlike
projects of
Charles X.

Charles never doubted that he must begin a war, the only point for deliberation was against what country he should first direct his arms. Denmark seemed to offer an easy prey. Ruled by a turbulent and powerful oligarchy, who applied to their own purposes the resources of the State, and opposed even the wisest and most useful measures of the King, that country seemed fast drifting to ruin. It was, moreover, totally destitute of any permanent and well-organized military force that could be opposed to the Swedish veterans, trained in the Thirty Years' War by the greatest captains of the age. But an attack upon Denmark was feasible at any time, and a more important project seemed first to claim the attention of Charles. He contemplated seizing those provinces on the Baltic, held by the Elector of Brandenburg and the King of Poland, which interrupted the communication between Livonia and Pomerania, provinces of which he was already in possession. The Dukes of Courland and Prussia, who were vassals of Poland, were to be compelled to acknowledge the sovereignty of Sweden; the mouths of the Vistula were to be seized, as well as Polish Prussia and Dantzic; and the House of Brandenburg was to be offered in Poland a compensation for ceding Eastern Pomerania, which would connect together all these conquests. When these plans had been accomplished, the subjugation of Denmark would complete Charles's empire in the Baltic, and render that sea a Swedish lake.¹

While Charles was still in suspense, he was decided by a step taken by John Casimir II. of Poland. That monarch,

¹ Puffendorf, *De Rebus a Carolo Gust. gestis*, t. i. p. 39 sqq.

annoyed at seeing the Swedish Crown, formerly worn by his father, pass into a foreign house, yet without the power to assert his claim to it by arms, was foolish enough to afford Charles a pretext for war by protesting against his accession. Under the circumstances of Poland at that time, nothing could have been more imprudent than such a step. Since the accession of John Casimir, in 1648, Poland, which under the rule of his brother and predecessor, Ladislaus IV., had still enjoyed some reputation, had fallen into a state of decay and almost of dissolution. It was with difficulty that John Casimir could defend his frontier against the Cossacks his subjects, and the Tartars his neighbours; while the internal factions with which Poland was rent scarcely allowed him to maintain himself upon the throne.

Poland
under John
Casimir II.

The kingdom, or as the Poles themselves called it, the Republic of Poland, required, from its peculiar constitution, the greatest vigour and ability in the prince who governed it. The only class of Poles which enjoyed any political rights was the nobles, comprising some 100,000 families. The rest of the population was composed either of serfs who were entirely at the disposal of their masters, or the inhabitants of towns, who, though free, could neither hold public office nor exercise any legislative power. Hence the nobles alone composed the State; but these were themselves divided into four very different classes. The first class, consisting of a few princely families, who possessed whole provinces, enjoyed large revenues, and had the privilege of maintaining troops, were often at deadly feud with one another, and carried on their quarrels with the aid of foreign mercenaries and foreign gold. Under them were the Voyvodes, Starosts and Bishops, who administered the higher temporal and spiritual offices. These two classes alone were properly the rulers of the State. The third class consisted of holders of prebends and castellanies. The nobles of the fourth and last class, by far the most numerous, were poor, and for the most part depended on those above them for employment and subsistence. The Diet, chosen only by the nobles, possessed the whole power of the Government; it elected the King, made the laws, and even took a part in the executive administration. For although the King was nominally the head of the State, yet he had so little real power that the three greatest officers, namely, the Grand Chancellor, who administered the law, the

Its consti-
tution.

Grand Treasurer, who presided over the finances, and the Grand Marshal, who directed the political affairs of the kingdom, were not responsible to him for the discharge of their functions. Notwithstanding, however, that the Diet possessed such extensive powers, it lay at the mercy of any single member who, by virtue of what was called the *Liberum Veto*, might annul its proceedings. The nobles had also the right of forming *Confederations*, which raised troops and decided by arms contested political questions. When the anarchy thus created became too intolerable to be endured, recourse was had to a *General Confederation*; a sort of military dictatorship, whose leader usurped all the functions of government. Enrolment in such a confederation was compulsory on every noble, on pain of forfeiting his privileges. Poland was also exposed to anarchy through the religious parties into which it was divided; for though most of the nobles were Roman Catholics, a considerable number belonged to the Protestant, and some to the Greek confession. These were called *Dissidents*, or dissenters. They enjoyed the same political privileges as the other nobles; of which, however, the priests and Jesuits were continually seeking to deprive them; an object in which, in the following century, they succeeded.

The Tsar
Alexis.

Bred as a monk and imbued with all the bigotry of the cloister, John Casimir was wholly unfitted to rule a kingdom like Poland. He was himself governed by his Queen, Louisa Maria di Gonzaga; which circumstance, together with the preference which he showed for French manners, caused a large party to regard him as unworthy to reign over a warlike nobility. In the year 1652 the opposition to his government had been displayed in the strongest manner. The *Liberum Veto* was then first used, and whole provinces seemed inclined to place themselves under foreign protection. In the same year, Jerome Radziejowski, Vice-Chancellor of Poland, and one of the principal leaders of the malcontents, fled his country and took refuge at the Court of Sweden: where he incited Charles, by the promise of his assistance, to deliver the Poles from the domination of a pusillanimous king and an imperious woman. Charles might also expect to find a strong party in the Protestant malcontents, among whom was Prince Radzivill, Grand General of Lithuania. All these circumstances seemed to favour an attack on Poland, and more than all these, the war in which that country was then engaged

with Russia. The Tsar Michael, the founder of the House of Romanoff, had died in July, 1645, and was succeeded by his son Alexis, then sixteen years of age. Russia had now recovered from her domestic troubles, and began to feel her strength. Alexis commenced those plans for civilizing the Russians, and enabling them to play a part in the affairs of Europe, which were afterwards carried out by his son, Peter the Great; he partly organized his army on the European model, and introduced foreign artizans to instruct his people in handicrafts and manufactures. To this ambitious and enterprising prince the disputes between the Poles and the Cossacks of the Ukraine seemed to offer a favourable opportunity for extending his dominions.

These Cossacks,¹ who must be distinguished from those of the Don, inhabited a country lying on the Dnieper, about forty leagues broad, and situated between the 50th and 53rd degrees of N. latitude. The Slavonic name of *Ukraine* is identical with the German *Mark* and the French *Marche*, and signifies a *boundary* or *frontier*; for anciently the Ukraine formed a boundary between four states: Russia, Poland, Turkey and Little Tartary. From its being governed by the Grand Dukes of Lithuania, it also obtained the name of *Little Russia*, in contradistinction to the Russia governed by the Muscovite Sovereigns; and hence when Jagellon, Grand Duke of Lithuania, was elected to the throne of Poland, in 1386, the Ukraine became united under the same prince with Poland. In 1569, when Lithuania was incorporated with Poland, the Palatine and Castellan of Kiev, in the Ukraine, took their places among the Senators of the Republic. A few years afterwards, Stephen Bathori gave the Cossacks a more regular organization. He divided them into regiments of 1,000 men, distributed under *Sotnas* (*banners*) or companies, each of which had a permanent chief. All the regiments were under a sole commander, called *Hetman*, whom the King invested in his command with a flag, a horsetail, a bâton, and a mirror. But Sigismund III. (1587-1632), who succeeded Bathori on the Polish throne, quite alienated the Cossacks by his impolitic measures. He reduced their military force from 40,000 men to 6,000; forbade their marauding

The
Cossacks
of the
Ukraine.

¹ For the history of this people see Engel, *Gesch. der Ukraine und der Cosacken*.

expeditions, and made their Hetman subordinate to the general of the Crown. Sigismund was also imprudent enough to shock their religious prejudices; and being governed by the priests, did all that lay in his power to bring the Cossacks, who belonged to the Greek communion, into that of the Pope. These innovations excited a discontent which broke out more than once into open rebellion, and produced a series of wars, which were prolonged with varying success through the reigns of Sigismund and his successor Ladislaus. At length an imprudent step on the part of Ladislaus prepared the events which for ever separated the Ukraine from Poland.

Plan of
Ladislaus
of Poland.

The Diet having refused Ladislaus a corps of foreign troops for the war which he meditated against the Turks, that Sovereign resolved to gain the affection and assistance of the Cossacks by restoring to them their ancient privileges. But this he endeavoured to effect by engaging their leader, Chmelnicki, in a sort of sham conspiracy against his own kingdom. The Tartars were to be secretly induced to attack Poland in conjunction with the Cossacks; and when the Diet should have provided Ladislaus with troops and money to repel the invasion, the Cossacks were to make common cause with him, and, after driving out the enemy, to establish the King's authority on a solid basis. The plan was carried out. In 1647 the Cossacks rose; in May, 1648, with the assistance of the Khan of the Tartars, they defeated a Polish army; and Chmelnicki, as had been arranged, addressed a letter to the Polish King, demanding for the Cossacks a redress of grievances and the re-establishment of their ancient constitution.

Alexis
attacks
Poland.

Unfortunately, however, for the success of this project Ladislaus had expired before the letter was delivered; and the Diet which assembled in July, after some stormy debates, resolved to use force against the Cossacks; but the Polish army disbanded itself on their approach. John Casimir, therefore, when elected to the Polish crown, had no alternative but to conclude an armistice with them, and in the following year, he restored to them most of their privileges. This agreement, however, was not observed; the Cossacks again rose, but with their allies the Tartars, were defeated by the Poles, July, 1651; when they were compelled to accept a convention much less favourable than the former one. The strength of

their army was reduced to 20,000 men, and they were obliged to admit, as collectors and agents of the King, the Jews who had been formerly banished. Such a state of things was in the highest degree unpalatable to a warlike people accustomed to treat with arms in their hands. Their leader, Chmelnicki, who had three or four years before sought the aid of the Russians, with whom the Cossacks were connected by a common origin, and a conformity of language and religion, persuaded them, in 1654, to place themselves by a formal treaty under the protection of the Tsar Alexis; ¹ who eagerly seized the occasion to reunite to his empire provinces which had been separated from it since the fourteenth century. This step involved Alexis in a war with Poland; which he strove to justify with foreign Powers by the most childish complaints of errors committed by the Poles in the titles given by them to himself and his father; the authors of which errors, he said, he had in vain required to be capitally punished.² The Tsar in person laid siege to, and captured Smolensko, September 10th, 1654, and soon after Vitepsk and other towns; another Russian army entered Lithuania, and took several places, while a third occupied Kiev and all the Ukraine. The Poles, who did not take the field till late in the year, being reinforced by 18,000 Tartars, blockaded Chmelnicki in his fortified camp at Ochmatoff till February, 1655; when that intrepid chieftain cut his way through their ranks sword in hand, and rejoined the Russians.

Such was the state of Poland at the time of Charles X.'s contemplated expedition against that kingdom. In vain had John Casimir despatched ambassadors to Stockholm to avert it; who, in excuse for their master's having assumed the title of King of Sweden, alleged the example of the English sovereigns, who bore the title of Kings of France; of the King of Denmark, who called himself King of the Goths and Vandals; and of Henry III. of France, who had continued till the end of his life to use the title of King of Poland. Charles remained inexorable. He wanted a pretext for war, and this was the best that he could find. There was nothing in the state of Europe to deter him from his project. The

Cromwell's
treaty with
Sweden.

¹ Engel, S. 191.

² "Ipsum Czarem missis Legatis sæpius postulasse, ut qui tales errores admiserint capite plecterentur."—Puffendorf, *De Rebus Suec.* lib. xxvi. § 8.

Emperor was occupied with the internal affairs of the Empire; Denmark, as we have said, was weakened by internal discord; Holland, the State most likely to oppose the designs of Charles, had just terminated an expensive war with England, and was also crippled by dissensions at home; France and Spain were entirely occupied with the war then raging between them; and the Protector Cromwell had no wish to arrest the progress of Sweden; a State which, besides being energetically Protestant, was also the decided opponent of Holland. A treaty was even concluded between England and Sweden, by which Charles X. promised to favour the Baltic commerce of the English rather than that of the Dutch; while Cromwell engaged, so long as it should be necessary, to put twenty ships of war at the service of Sweden, and to allow recruits for that country to be levied in England and Scotland.¹

Success of
Charles X.

Charles X.'s plan was to break in two directions through Pomerania and Livonia into Poland, already weakened by the attacks of the Russians and Cossacks; and also, by means of its internal dissensions, to induce some of its provinces to come under a voluntary subjection. Dantzic, which enjoyed an independent government, was to be blockaded by the Swedish fleet, which, as in the time of Gustavus Adolphus, was to levy dues, and thus in time compel that city to submit to Sweden. In July, 1655, Field-marshal Count Wittenberg, governor of Swedish Pomerania, received instructions to enter Great Poland with 17,000 men. A Polish army, under the Palatines of Posen and Kalisch, offered to dispute the passage of the Netze, when Radzejowski, who accompanied Wittenberg, persuaded the Polish commanders to place their Palatinates under the protection of Sweden. Charles X. himself, with an army of 15,000 veterans, landed near Wolgast towards the end of July, and proceeded to Stettin. The fleet which had conveyed him, consisting of forty vessels of war under Charles Gustavus Wrangel, was then despatched to blockade the road of Dantzic. The King entered Poland early in August, passed the Netze at Czarnikow, and formed a junction with Wittenberg at Conin-on-the-Warta. His march resembled rather a triumphal procession than a

¹ A considerable number of British troops and officers fought under the Swedish banners in this war, as they had done in the time of Gustavus Adolphus.

hostile inroad. The nobles flocked from all sides to claim his protection, and compared him to "their good king Ladislaus." The many enemies by whom John Casimir was attacked had compelled him to divide his forces. One division under Potocki opposed the Cossacks; Radzivill, with a second, was defending Lithuania against the Russians; whilst the King himself, with a third, marched against the Swedes, whom he met at Sobota, August 23rd. Here John Casimir was entirely defeated, and Charles, leaving Wittenberg to pursue him, marched directly on Warsaw, which surrendered unconditionally, August 30th. He had only just anticipated an attempt on the same city by the Russians, who had despatched some troops thither from Grodno. John Casimir after his defeat had retreated towards Cracow, and attempted to surprise Wittenberg's camp; but that general having been rejoined by the King, the Poles were again defeated at Zarnowa. After these events, the greater part of the Polish cavalry dispersed; the Swedes pursued John Casimir with forced marches, and again defeated him on the river Donajek, near Cracow, September 21st. The Polish King now lost all hope, and fled to Oppeln in Silesia, to behold from a distance the misfortunes of his country. Cracow, which had been bravely defended by Stephen Czarnecki, opened its gates to the Swedes, October 8th. Soon after the Polish standing army, called *Quartians*,¹ took the oath of fidelity to Charles X. Poland seemed now in a state of utter dissolution. Most of the Polish nobles made their submission to Charles in person at Cracow, or to his representatives at Warsaw; though twenty-two of the senators offered the Polish crown to the Emperor. The army of Potocki, which had been beaten by the Cossacks, submitted to the Swedes. Horn, landing at Stettin with reinforcements, had occupied Pomerelia, and secured the King of Sweden's rear. Field-marshal Stenbock, crossing the Bug at its confluence with the Vistula, had defeated the army of Vasovia, and secured that province. In Lithuania, Minsk, Grodno, and Wilna having been taken by the Russians, Radzivill submitted to De la Gardie, the Swedish governor of Livonia. Charles was recognized as Grand Duke of Lithuania, and the States of that province,

¹ So called because a fourth part of the Crown lands was set apart for their maintenance. Among their colonels who took the oath to Charles was John Sobieski, afterwards King of Poland.

as well as of Samogitia, made their formal submission in October.

His precarious position.

Conquests so rapid and extensive seemed almost to place this expedition of Charles X. on a par with that of his great predecessor Gustavus Adolphus to the Rhine. Yet the Swedish King did not feel himself altogether secure. The Tartars were reported to be in motion. The Russians, who now held the greater part of Lithuania, were dangerous neighbours; and the Tsar announced, by the assumption of the titles of "Grand Prince of Lithuania, White Russia, Volhynia, and Podolia,"¹ that he did not intend to resign his conquests. The Poles themselves could not be confidently relied on, and Prussia, one of the chief objects of the war, had not yet been reduced. Above all, Charles was anxious about the conduct of the Elector of Brandenburg, who had been negotiating with his enemies, John Casimir and the Dutch, and had finally entered West Prussia with 8,000 men; where, calling the States together, he made a treaty with them to resist any attempt on the part of the Swedes to obtain possession of Prussia. As the events of this Swedish invasion, and the policy adopted by the Elector of Brandenburg with regard to it, are among the chief causes which finally led to the establishment of the Prussian monarchy, it will be useful to examine with some attention the character, motives, and actions of that prince.

Frederick William, the Great Elector.

We have already recorded the accession of Frederick William, commonly called the "Great Elector," to the electorate of Brandenburg in 1640. His dominions were then exposed to all the risks and dangers of the Thirty Years' War; but the first steps of the young Elector—for he was only twenty years of age at the time of his accession—were marked by the greatest prudence and circumspection. He hastened to conclude an armistice with Sweden, which he the more readily obtained as a marriage was at that time in contemplation between him and Christina, the heiress of the Swedish throne. The conduct of the Elector during the remainder of the war was such as to procure him, as we have already seen, very favourable terms at the Peace of Westphalia. One of the most remarkable features of Frederick William's character was his piety. He had adopted the Cal-

¹ Hermann, *Gesch. Russlands*, B. iii. S. 629 Anm.

vinistic faith, the religion of his grandfather, John Sigismund; but he rejected its most characteristic feature, that of election and predestination, and he required that the doctrine of universal grace should be preached in all the churches of the Mark.

Frederick William had paid particular attention to his finances, which were in a flourishing condition. He was very sparing in his personal expenses; but the political exigencies of the time compelled him to maintain a standing army, which had been gradually increased from 8,000 men, till at the time of the Swedish invasion it numbered 26,000, with 72 guns. As his States were opposed to so heavy a charge, he had been sometimes obliged to resort to compulsion, and act against the law and the mediæval rights which stood in his way; for his political conscience was somewhat broad, and allowed him to join the stronger party and loose himself from the weaker, as interest dictated. One of the chief objects of his ambition was to shake off the feudal bonds by which he held his Duchy of Prussia under the elective kings of Poland, whose weakness he despised. He had at first wished to arrange the differences between Sweden and Poland in an amicable manner; but seeing war inevitable, he consulted how he might best turn it to his advantage. His military strength made him a desirable ally for either party, and he had also fortified himself by an alliance with the Dutch. The Rhenish possessions which had fallen to him by the succession of Jülich rendered the friendship of that people important to him; but the negotiations had been so long protracted, that the Swedish invasion of Poland gave a new object to them, and induced the States-General to league themselves with the Elector. On the 27th of July, 1655, a treaty was concluded at the Hague for mutual defence, to include the Elector's possessions on the Baltic; and Frederick William engaged to protect the Dutch commerce in that sea.

His treaty
with the
Dutch.

While these negotiations were going on with the States, Charles X. had also been endeavouring to bring over the Elector to his side. Conferences had taken place at Stettin, in which the Brandenburg plenipotentiaries had tried to dissuade the Swedish King from his projects; but finding him resolved, had offered to unite the Electoral forces with his, if Charles would engage to free Prussia from Polish vassalage. But this agreed not at that time with Charles's plans, and the

Branden-
burg
opposes
Charles.

success of his arms rendered him every day less conciliating. Frederick William, on his side, reckoning that the Poles might be able to hold out till the spring, when aid might be expected from all sides, had been induced, as already related, to enter West Prussia with his forces, and in November, 1655, he concluded with the Prussian nobles an agreement for the defence of the duchy ; but the towns of Dantzic, Elbing, and Thorn kept aloof.¹

Charles X.
subdues
Prussia.

This step of the Elector's gave great offence to the King of Sweden, and afforded another motive for marching into Prussia. He himself, having recruited his army with 7,000 Poles, set out from Warsaw ; Stenboeck with his division preceding him down the Vistula, while De la Gardie marched in the same direction from Lithuania. Thorn and Elbing soon opened their gates to the Swedish forces. Charles then marched against the Elector, and having taken Welau on the Pregel (Dec. 15th), compelled him to shut himself up in Königsberg, the capital of his duchy. Frederick William, finding that he could expect no assistance from the Dutch, was now compelled to yield ; and he authorized his ministers to sign with the Swedish Chancellor, Eric Oxenstiern, a treaty by which he recognized himself as the vassal of Sweden instead of Poland ; bound himself to assist the Swedes in their wars, and to allow them free passage through the Duchy of Prussia, with the use of the ports, etc. After its execution the Elector visited the King at Bartenstein, where they spent some days together in great apparent friendship.

Confeder-
acy of Tyr-
cowitz.

All Charles's plans seemed now to be crowned with complete success, and nothing appeared necessary to his recognition as King of Poland except a coronation. But his conquests were too rapid to be lasting, and had, indeed, been conducted in a manner which entailed their loss. The Polish nobles had been offended by Charles's haughtiness ; the people were incited by the priests to defend their religion against the heretic Swedes ; and they were naturally anxious to preserve their property, which, in many instances, had been seized by Charles for the support of his troops. The embers of lurking discontent were busily stirred by John Casimir, and during the absence of Charles in Prussia they burst into an open flame. The Swedes were massacred wherever they

¹ Puffendorf, *De Rebus Gest. Frid. Wilhelmi*, p. 252 sqq.

were the smaller number. Potocki's troops, who had submitted with reluctance to the Swedes, suddenly broke up from Lublin, and marched towards Red Russia (Gallicia), calling on the Poles to arm. A confederacy had been formed at Tyr-cowitz, which was confirmed by John Casimir, Jan. 5th, 1656. That King had recrossed the Polish borders with a small body of cavalry towards the end of the year, and having joined a force under Lubomirski, had marched to join Potocki and the Tartars who were announced to be hastening to his assistance.

Although it was mid winter, the King of Sweden, when he heard of these movements, quitted Prussia to suppress them. Crossing the Vistula on the ice, he defeated with great loss, near Golumbo, a Polish force of 12,000 men under Stephen Czarnecki (Feb. 8th). He then overran the Palatinates of Lublin, Belz, and Sandomier. But he soon discovered that his resources were unequal to the enterprise he had undertaken. As fast as he left a conquered province the inhabitants again rose against him; large numbers of the *Quartians* deserted his standards; while many of his Swedish troops perished of hunger and cold, or at the hands of the peasantry. Under these circumstances, Charles was compelled, towards the middle of March, to commence a retreat to Warsaw, during which he experienced the greatest difficulties and dangers from the state of the roads, and especially from having to cross the river Sau in the face of the enemy. His brother-in-law, the Margrave Frederick of Baden, who was bringing some reinforcements to his aid, was defeated by the Poles near Warka on the Pilsa, March 28th. Charles reached Warsaw April 5th; and leaving that city under the command of Wittenberg, he returned into Prussia with the view of taking Dantzic, which city, however, baffled all his attempts.

Charles re-
pulsed by
the Poles.

The ill-success of the Swedish King determined him to draw closer his alliance with the Elector of Brandenburg, with the view of reducing Poland by their joint arms. Charles now contemplated a partition of that country something similar to that which took place about a century later. By the treaty of Marienburg, June 15th, 1656, the two sovereigns entered into an offensive and defensive alliance, by which Frederick William agreed to assist Charles then with all his forces, and at other times with 4,000 men; while

Contem-
plated
partition
of Poland.

Charles undertook to defend the Elector's territories with 6,000 men. By another secret treaty, signed on the same day, the King ceded to Frederick William in full sovereignty the four Palatinates of Posen, Kalisch, Siradia, and Lenezca. The rest of Poland was abandoned to the Russians, the Cossacks, and George Ragotsky, Prince of Transylvania; Charles reserving for himself only Prussia, the real object of the war.

Campaign
in Poland.

After this treaty had been signed, the King, the Elector, and the Margrave of Baden, who had arrived from Pomerania with fresh troops, marched to the relief of Warsaw, where Wittenberg had been six weeks besieged by a large Polish and Tartar force, animated by the presence of John Casimir; but before the allies could reach that city, Wittenberg had been compelled to capitulate (June 21st). So weak was the authority of John Casimir over these barbarous hordes, that he could not prevent the capitulation from being violated; and though the garrison had stipulated for an unmolested retreat to Thorn, Wittenberg and several other Swedish generals were made prisoners, and numbers of their soldiers were killed or maltreated. It was not till towards the end of July that the King of Sweden and the Elector had formed a junction at Nowydwor, near the confluence of the Bug and Vistula. Hence they marched on Praga—a suburb of Warsaw on the right bank of the Vistula—where John Casimir, with his Poles and Tartars, offered them battle. A desperate struggle ensued, which lasted three days; when at length the Polish troops, though twice as numerous as their opponents, were compelled to yield to the superior science and bravery of the Swedes and Germans. Warsaw was now again recovered and occupied by the Swedes, while John Casimir retired to Lublin. But Charles was prevented from pursuing the enemy and reaping all the fruits of his victory by the politic remissness of Frederick William; who pleaded the incursions of the Poles into Prussia as an excuse for leading back his army thither, leaving only 4,000 men with the King of Sweden, as he was bound to do by treaty; and, after his return, he began to negotiate in a very suspicious manner with the Poles, the Danes, and the Emperor. He seems to have perceived that Charles had entered on an enterprise too vast for his strength, and to have resolved to turn his indiscretion to advantage. It was at first thought that John Casimir would have come to

some terms after his defeat; but the invasion by the Russians of the Swedish province of Livonia, and the hope held out to him of some support from the Emperor, caused him to alter his mind.

The peace of Stolbova¹ between the Swedes and Russians, in 1617, had been so disadvantageous to the latter, that it was not unnatural they should wish to break it. By this treaty, Ingria and part of Carelia were ceded to Sweden; and as this Power had previously obtained Livonia by the treaty of Teusin, in 1595, the Russians were thus entirely excluded from the Baltic, sequestered as it were from European commerce, and reduced almost to the condition of an Asiatic Power. It was a conviction that the Tsar would endeavour to escape from such a state of things and regain a footing on the Baltic,² which had induced Charles X., before he invaded Poland, and with the view of conciliating the Russian sovereign, to despatch to him an embassy. But the vanity and presumption which characterized the Russian Court before it had been civilized by European intercourse, rendered this embassy one of the causes of the war which it was intended to avert. Alexis, after his conquests in Poland, had not only added the names of the subdued provinces to his titles, but had also assumed that of "Lord of many lands to the North, East, and West, and heir of his Ancestors and Predecessors." As it was plain that by this oriental bombast he indicated his pretensions to Livonia, Ingria, and Carelia, Charles refused to acknowledge these titles, which implied a claim on his own dominions; a want of condescension which gave great offence to the Tsar, who seized and imprisoned the Swedish ambassadors. Alexis, though himself at war with Poland, was also displeased at the invasion of that country by the Swedes, which seemed to rob him of part of his destined booty; and several acts of hostility had occurred between the Russian and Swedish troops, intent on occupying the same places in Lithuania.

The Tsar
engages in
the war.

If Alexis could have agreed with the King of Sweden and the Elector of Brandenburg, the partition of Poland might perhaps then have been effected, instead of being postponed till the following century. But the Tsar was jealous of the occupation of Lithuania by the Swedes, and his ministers urged

¹ See above, p. 229.

² Puffendorf, *De Rebus Carol. Gust. lib. i. § 53.*

him to seize the pretext of Charles's refusal to acknowledge his titles to declare war against Sweden, and to recover the provinces which had formerly been lost. Their representations were seconded by the Dutch merchants; while the Court of Vienna offered its mediation to procure for the Tsar a truce with Poland, so that he might direct all his efforts against the Swedes. Without awaiting the result of these negotiations, Alexis, in June, 1656, ordered his troops to enter Ingria and Carelia; whence, after ravaging those provinces, they penetrated to the extremity of Finland. Alexis himself, at the head of 100,000 men, invaded Livonia, seized Dunaburg and Kokenhausen, the garrisons of which places were put to the sword, and invested Riga. From this last place, defended by De la Gardie, he was repulsed with great loss; but Dorpat having capitulated October 26th, the Russians were enabled to penetrate into the country and devastate everything with fire and sword.

Treaty of
Labiau,
1656.

The Emperor Ferdinand III. had viewed with uneasiness the progress of the Swedes, which threatened the Roman Catholic religion in Poland, and endangered his own hereditary dominions. The desire to divert their arms had led him to incite the Tsar to enter Livonia. He was not himself prepared to declare war against Charles; but he accorded to John Casimir an asylum, where he might prepare the means of re-entering his kingdom. He even made an alliance with that prince, and engaged to use his good offices with the Elector, as well as with the Cossacks, in his favour. A truce was also concluded through Ferdinand's mediation between the Poles and Russians at Wilna, November 3rd, 1656. The Tsar, jealous of the victories of the Swedes, readily listened to the proposals of John Casimir, especially as hopes were held out to him of succeeding to the Polish throne.¹ The Elector of Brandenburg skilfully availed himself of the embarrassment occasioned to Charles by the Russian war to obtain the secret object of his policy, the sovereignty of Prussia. Charles was very averse to accede to an arrangement which broke the contiguity of his provinces on the Baltic; but at length (November 20th) he signed the TREATY OF LABIAU, which may be said to have laid the first stone of the Prussian monarchy. By this treaty, Frederick William and his heirs male were recognized

¹ Hermann, *Gesch. Russlands*, B. iii. S. 636.

as legitimate and independent sovereigns of Prussia and Ermland. In any future peace, the Elector was to use his endeavours that West, or Royal Prussia, Pomerelia, and part of Cassubia, together with Semigallia, Samogitia, Livonia, and Courland, should be assigned to Sweden. The Elector renounced his pretensions to the four Polish Palatinates, and agreed to afford to the King of Sweden the same aid as stipulated by the treaty of Marienburg.¹

Charles had also turned to other quarters for assistance, and among them to England, almost the only Power which viewed his progress without displeasure or alarm. But though Cromwell had said that the Swedes, for aught he cared, might extend their conquests to the Caspian Sea, he was not disposed to give them any active assistance; and all that they obtained by a treaty concluded at London in July, 1656, was permission to recruit in Great Britain. With George Ragotsky, Prince of Transylvania, Charles was more successful. Ragotsky, who wished to obtain a share of the Polish provinces, if not the crown of Poland itself, which had been offered to him by a party of the malcontents, had sent an embassy to Charles, with the view of making an alliance. The ill turn which Charles's affairs subsequently took, and especially the Russian war, having rendered such an ally very desirable, a treaty was concluded in December, in which nearly all the terms demanded by Ragotsky were granted. He was to have Red Russia, Podolia, Volhynia, and all the southern provinces of Poland as far as the Narew and the Bug, with the titles of King of Little Poland, or Eastern Poland, and Grand Duke of Lithuania. His allies the Cossacks were to be maintained in possession of the Ukraine. Such was the eagerness of Ragotsky to secure these acquisitions, that before the treaty had been ratified he began his march with 18,000 horse and 5,000 foot; to which were added 20,000 Cossacks and 6,000 Moldavians and Wallachians. Charles set out from Prussia to meet his new ally. The junction was effected near Sandomierz, April 2nd, 1657, and the united forces proceeded to lay siege to Brzesc in Lithuania, which surrendered May 13th. But during the siege Charles received intelligence that the Danes were preparing to make war upon him; an event which entirely altered his plans.

Charles
treats with
George
Ragotsky.

¹ Dumont, t. vi. pt. ii. p. 148.

Coalition
against the
Swedes.

Frederick III. of Denmark was well aware that chance alone had prevented his dominions, instead of Poland, being attacked by the Swedes. He knew that he was destined to be the next prey of their rapacity; he had therefore fortified himself with alliances, and awaited a favourable opportunity to strike the first blow. He was continually complaining of the toll established by the Swedes at the mouth of the Vistula, as annoying the navigation of the Baltic and prejudicial to Danish interests in the Sound dues. The toll was still more hurtful to the Dutch, on account of their valuable commerce with Prussia; and in June, 1656, a Dutch fleet had appeared in Dantzic roads, and compelled the raising of the blockade. Frederick III. sent ten vessels to join this fleet, and concluded a treaty with the States-General for the defence of the Baltic navigation. Charles, however, soon afterwards found means to pacify the Dutch by a treaty in which he granted them very favourable terms. At this epoch the Danish finances were in a terrible state; the fortresses were dilapidated, and there was scarcely any regular army. Such had been the sad result of the Danish oligarchical constitution. The nobles diverted to their own use the money that should have been applied to maintain the defences of the kingdom, and refused to keep on foot any large force, lest it should be employed to annul the capitulation which they had imposed upon the King. Nevertheless the aspect of affairs in the spring of 1657, and especially the accession of a new sovereign of the House of Habsburg (*supra*, p. 380), who seemed disposed to take a more active part against the Swedes, induced the Danish monarch to declare war against Charles. The invasion of Poland by Ragotsky had determined the Emperor Leopold to enter into the Polish war. In May he confirmed his father's alliance with John Casimir and the Republic of Poland, and undertook to send 12,000 men into the field.¹ The King of Denmark also concluded, two months later, an alliance with John Casimir, but he commenced his attack upon the Swedes before the treaty was signed. He was no doubt further confirmed in this resolution by the prospect of assistance from the Elector of Brandenburg.

Retreat of
Charles X.

When Charles received at Brzesc the news of these events, he immediately resolved to hasten back with the greater part

¹ Dumont, t. vi. pt. ii. p. 179.

of his troops to the succour of his German possessions, before the Danes, supported by the Austrians, should cut off his retreat. His apprehensions were also excited by the conduct of the Elector of Brandenburg, who had withdrawn his contingent from the Swedish army. Ragotsky, in spite of Charles's repeated warnings to him to keep nearer to his own dominions, had persisted in marching to Warsaw. A part of the Swedish troops were already on their way to the North; and Charles, leaving the command in Poland to his brother, John Adolphus, now withdrew the rest of his army from that of his Transylvanian ally (June 13th). Enraged at this desertion, Ragotsky loaded Charles with reproaches, and hastened to regain his frontier; but being overtaken by Czarnecki, was compelled to sign a disgraceful capitulation, by which he engaged to send ambassadors to apologize to the Republic of Poland, the King of Hungary (Leopold), and the Ottoman Porte, and to pay 400,000 ducats for the damage he had done. The Swedes, on their side, hastened northwards, burning all on their road to Thorn, to prevent the Poles from following them. They arrived at Stettin early in July, reduced to about 6,000 ragged men, but full of ardour and burning to revenge themselves on the Danes. After their retreat, the Protestants in Poland were subjected to the most cruel persecution. They were accused of having enticed the Swedes into Poland; their estates were plundered, and their churches desecrated; they were excluded from the Diet, and many of them were even put to death.

After Charles's failure in Poland, the Elector of Brandenburg began to throw off the mask. He had, indeed, never sincerely embraced the Swedish cause. He foresaw that he should ultimately lose his share of Pomerania, as well as his Prussian Duchy, if Charles succeeded in his gigantic projects; those provinces being indispensable to the completion of the Swedish dominion on the Baltic. Leopold was aware of the Elector's views on this subject, and he was encouraged by them to mediate a peace between him and Poland. Frederick William stipulated that, in return for his active support, the independent sovereignty of Prussia, granted to him by Sweden, should be confirmed; and the Poles were at length induced, by the success of Charles in Denmark, which we shall presently relate, to accede to this condition. Thus by the TREATY OF WELAU, signed September 19th, 1657, Frederick William

Treaty of
Welau,
1657.

became Sovereign Duke of Prussia. On his side he engaged to restore all that he occupied in Poland, Lithuania, and Warmia, either by force of arms or by treaty with Sweden.¹

War
between
Sweden and
Denmark.

The war referred to between Denmark and Sweden commenced at sea. A Danish fleet of forty sail took its station at Bornholm; another squadron blockaded Gothenburg. The plan was to shut up all the Swedish harbours. Frederick III. was impressed with the idea that Charles would hasten to return to Sweden with his shattered army. Hoping to intercept him, Frederick himself secretly went on board the Danish fleet; but when he arrived off Dantzic, he was surprised with the news that the Swedish King had entered Pomerania; on hearing which he hastened back to his dominions. The Danes had crossed the Elbe early in July at Glückstadt and Harburg, and another division had entered Mecklenburg and penetrated as far as Wismar. Many encounters subsequently took place in those parts, mostly to the advantage of the Swedes, but which we forbear to relate, as the issue of the war depended on Charles's invasion of Denmark. That king had mustered his army at Demmin, July 10th; and on the 18th, to the astonishment of all Europe, he stood on the frontiers of Holstein. This rapid march was not accomplished without the loss of many hundred horses. The Danes retreated before him, and did not even attempt to defend the pass of Möln, the entrance into Holstein. At Ottensen, near Altona, he made a short halt, and compelled the Hamburgers to equip his army. So rapid and unexpected had been his march that he still found the Danish forces separated by the Elbe. Wrangel was despatched into the duchy of Bremen, and in a fortnight drove the Danes from every place except Bremer-vörde. Charles himself began his march northwards, August 3rd. He had accompanied Torstenson during the campaign in Holstein and Jutland in 1644; he had thus become acquainted with the scene of his future exploits, and had discussed with Torstenson those plans which now gave him the victory. His progress was rapid. The raw Danish levies, commanded by inexperienced officers, were unable to withstand the Swedish veterans. Charles traversed Holstein and Sleswig almost without resistance. On the 23rd of August he stood before Fridericksodde in Jutland, a strongly fortified place which

¹ Dumont, t. vi. pt. i. p. 191.

commands the Lesser Belt. The greater part of Jutland was now in his power; but as he foresaw that Fridericksodde would require a long siege, he resigned the command to Wrangel, and retired to Wismar, in order to watch the movements of the Poles and Austrians. In spite of his success, his position had become extremely critical. He was at open war with Poland, Russia, Denmark, and Austria, while Holland and Brandenburg were covert enemies. The Austrian army had begun to move northwards. The Swedish general Würtz had surrendered Cracow to them on condition of an unmolested retreat; a place, indeed, which from its distance from the other Swedish possessions was not worth retaining. An Austrian corps was marching towards Prussia; and Czarnecki, with 4,000 Poles, had entered Swedish Pomerania, and devastated everything as far as Uckermünde. Another motive with Charles for going to Wismar was that he might superintend the operations of his fleet. This was not ready till the beginning of September; and on the 12th of that month it engaged the Danish fleet off the Isle of Möen, in a battle which lasted two days and left the victory undecided. The Swedish ships then entered the harbour of Wismar.

The siege of Fridericksodde lasted till the 24th of October, when Wrangel became master of it by a bold and successful manœuvre. The town lies on a tongue of land, but one of its sides is protected hardly by the sea; and on this side some palisades were its chief defence. Wrangel, taking advantage of a periodical recess of the sea, and the shades of night, ordered some of his cavalry to destroy the palisades and enter the town on that side, whilst he himself stormed it with all his forces on the other. This plan proved entirely successful; most of the garrison were killed or made prisoners, and in the morning the Swedish flag floated upon the walls. The possession of Fridericksodde was indispensable to the Swedish army, in order to pass over to Funen. The passage, however, could not be effected without the fleet; and that of the Danes, though terribly maltreated in the late engagement, having been reinforced with eighteen Dutch ships, was still the mistress of the seas. Charles had been disappointed of the aid of an English fleet. He had proposed to Cromwell a plan for the partition of Denmark, by which that kingdom would have been entirely extinguished; but though the Protector was desirous of obtaining some German State, in order that he

Siege of
Fridericks-
odde.

might have a voice in the affairs of the Empire, he did not wish to see Denmark completely crushed; and he had observed to the Dutch ambassador that the times were past when it was permitted to destroy whole kingdoms.¹ Cromwell would have preferred a triple alliance, with Sweden and Denmark, against the House of Austria; and he declared himself ready to join Sweden and the German Protestant States against Leopold. Both England and France had offered to mediate between Denmark and Sweden; but both these Powers were then disinclined to a peace, and Charles X. especially did all that lay in his power to defeat the negotiations.

The Swedes
cross the
ice.

Under these circumstances, the capture of Fridericksodde would have been of no avail to Charles, had not the powers of nature stepped in to his assistance. After he had suffered some months of anxiety, a severe frost covered the Baltic with ice, and suggested to him an idea by which he might excel the exploits of any former conqueror. He resolved to cross the sea on the ice, although the persons whom he consulted denounced the enterprise as impracticable. The strength of the current near Middlefahrt, where the Little Belt is narrowest, rendered it unadvisable to cross at that point; the passage to Funen was therefore effected some miles lower down towards Hadersleben; where, though the Belt is six or seven miles broad, the ice was more secure, while the little island of Brandsö in the middle of the channel materially assisted the operation. On the night of the 30th January, 1658, the King himself and Wrangel led the cavalry and artillery, while the Count De la Gardie, at the head of the infantry, crossed between Stenderup and Tybring. After passing the island of Brandsö, the cavalry advanced in order of battle towards the headland of Ivernäs, now Wedelsborg, on the coast of Funen. In this operation several squadrons of cavalry sunk beneath the ice; but the main body arrived in safety and defeated a Danish corps which attempted to arrest their progress. The Swedes occupied Funen without further resistance, and Charles next day entered Odense, the chief town. The more hazardous enterprise of crossing the Great Belt into Zealand still remained to be achieved. The shortest route was from Nyborg to Corsoer; but it was determined to adopt the safer, though more circuitous one, across the islands which lie between the

¹ Puffendorf, *De Reb. Carol. Gust.* lib. iv. § 84.

southern extremities of Funen and Zealand. The channel between Funen and Langeland was passed on the night of February 5th, and on the following one the still broader channel between Langeland and Laaland. On the 8th Guld-borg Sound was crossed, which separates Laaland from Falster. In Falster it was necessary to wait for the infantry and artillery, which arrived at Stubkiöping on the 10th; and in two days the whole army passed over into Zealand.¹

Nothing could equal the consternation of the Danes at the news of this successful and unexpected invasion. Copenhagen was in so wretched a state of defence as to be entirely at the mercy of the conqueror. Charles, flushed with the triumph of one of the most extraordinary military enterprises ever achieved, debated whether he should put an end to the Danish kingdom by incorporating it with Sweden, or whether he should content himself with seizing some of its finest provinces. The first of these projects he is said to have relinquished only through fear that the more agreeable climate of Zealand might induce some of his successors to make it their residence, and that Denmark might thus become the seat of empire, whilst Sweden sank down into a mere Danish province. But whatever the exultation of Charles, and however brilliant his situation, he could not be insensible to its danger. Czarnecki and his Poles, after wasting Pomerania and threatening to penetrate into Holstein, had indeed returned home to secure their booty, instead of marching to the assistance of the King of Denmark; but, on the other hand, a more dangerous enemy had been added to those who had declared against Charles. The Elector of Brandenburg had concluded an offensive alliance with Denmark, November 10th, 1657. That Prince might soon come to the aid of the Danish King; besides which, it was known that the Dutch were preparing to come to the relief of Copenhagen, as soon as the ice broke up, with a fleet of twenty-five ships and 7,000 men. The apprehension of these events led Charles to refuse any suspension of arms for the purpose of negotiation, and to hasten his march towards the Danish capital. He did not, however, reject the mediation pressed upon him by England and France. The Danish plenipotentiaries had been instructed to agree to

Copen-
hagen
threatened.

¹ See for this expedition, besides Puffendorf, the *Mémoires* of the Chev. de Terlon, the French ambassador.

Treaty of
Roskild,
1658.

the best terms they could obtain, and the preliminaries of a peace were signed at Tostrup, towards the end of February, which led to the definitive TREATY OF ROSKILD, March 8th, 1658. By this treaty Denmark was isolated from her allies, as each party agreed to renounce all alliances contracted to the prejudice of the other, and the Baltic was to be closed to the fleets of the enemies of either Power. This last article was particularly offensive to the Dutch, and caused Van Beuningen, the Dutch minister, to strain every nerve to upset the treaty. Denmark ceded to Sweden Halland, Schonen, Blekingen, and the Isle of Bornholm with their dependencies, the cities of Bahus and Drontheim, together with some rights in the Isle of Rügen. Conquests made during the war were mutually restored.¹

Schemes of
Charles.

In spite of this treaty, it soon became evident that the war was not at an end. Charles X. still felt the cravings of a conqueror. It was a saying of his, that a great prince should be always at war, both to occupy his subjects and to render himself formidable to his neighbours. His plans were on the most gigantic scale. After rendering himself master of the Scandinavian kingdoms and of the Baltic, he proposed to maintain a fleet of 100 ships and an army of 100,000 men; and it is said that he entertained the idea of then marching to Italy and founding there, like another Alaric, a new kingdom of the Goths. These schemes are characteristic of a sovereign who has obtained the name of the "Pyrrhus of the North;" but they were singularly out of proportion to his means. Authorities differ as to the precise period at which he had determined to renew the war with Denmark. His historian, Puffendorf, says that he did not come to that resolution till the middle of June; but Dalberg, a favourite officer of Charles, and one of the chief agents in some of his most daring and important achievements, says in his "Journal" that the King had already determined on a renewal of hostilities by the middle of April.² All Charles's actions show, indeed, that in his secret heart he had never meant to observe the peace. The maintenance of his army rendered war necessary to him. It was for the most part composed of foreign mercenaries, who, if once disbanded,

¹ Dumont, t. vi. pt. ii. p. 208.

² Apud Carlson, *Gesch. Schwedens*, B. iv. S. 307.

could never be reassembled; yet his means did not permit him to maintain them except in an enemy's country. Thus, after the conclusion of the Treaty of Roskild, his troops were still kept in the Danish provinces; and though in May Wrangel was ordered to withdraw the divisions in Zealand, those which occupied Funen, Jutland, and Holstein were not recalled. It was alleged in excuse for this occupation that several points in the treaty had not been finally arranged. One of the most important of these regarded Charles's father-in-law, the Duke of Holstein Gottorp. The Duchies of Sleswig and Holstein were held by a younger branch of the House of Holstein, but under the suzerainty of the regal branch, or kings of Denmark; and disputes had frequently arisen as to the extent of the royal jurisdiction in Sleswig, for Holstein was a fief of the German Empire. Frederick, the reigning Duke, had taken advantage of his son-in-law's invasion of Denmark to assert his independence of that kingdom. The matter had not been settled by the Treaty of Roskild; but a commission had been appointed to consider the Duke's claims, and in May, 1658, he was recognized as independent sovereign of Sleswig and the Isle of Fehmern. There were still, however, some other unsettled points with regard to the Treaty of Roskild, which afforded Charles a pretext for keeping his army in Denmark, and especially a question respecting the little Isle of Hveen, the possession of which was important to Sweden, as it commanded the approach to the port of Landskrona. Meanwhile Charles, who was at Gothenburg, kept the Swedish States assembled in readiness for any emergency. He was persuaded, as well from his own recent success as from the facility with which Frederick III. had yielded to all his demands, that Denmark was too weak to resist his arms; and he had already, in imagination, disposed of his future conquest. Denmark was to be annihilated as an independent kingdom, and to be reduced to the condition of a Swedish province. Nay, he even debated with his Council how homage should be done to him and what titles he should assume when his conquest was completed; and it was arranged that he should be called "King of Sweden and the Goths, of Denmark, Norway, and the Vandals."¹

Duchies of
Sleswig
and Hol-
stein.

Early in August Charles was ready to take the field. He

¹ Carlson, *Gesch. Schwedens*, p. 309.

Charles X.
again in-
vades
Denmark.

coloured his breach of the peace by charging the King of Denmark with not having fulfilled all the conditions of the Treaty of Roskild; with being the direct or indirect cause of the oppression of the Protestants in Livonia by the Russians, and the taking of Thorn by the Poles; and with having promoted the election of Leopold, the enemy of Sweden, as Emperor. He embarked with his army at Kiel, August 5th. He had at first proposed to go directly to Copenhagen, which he might then probably have taken, as everything depended on promptness; but, instead of this, he was advised to land at Corsoer, several days' march from the capital, which had thus an opportunity to prepare for its defence. Frederick III., who, with his son, afterwards Christian V., was in Copenhagen at this juncture, displayed a firmness which excited the admiration of all Europe. When advised to escape into Norway, he replied that he would die, like the bird, in his nest. He inspired the inhabitants with the same courage as animated himself. The citizens and students armed; the magistrates declared their readiness to die with him; the suburbs were burnt, and the outworks abandoned. Nevertheless, so small was the regular garrison, and so dilapidated were the fortifications of Copenhagen, that had Charles, when he appeared before it, ordered an immediate assault, as advised by Dalberg, the city would most probably have been taken; but the King listened in preference to the advice of Wrangel, to attack Kronenborg first. The siege of this place lasted from August 16th till September 6th, when it surrendered; a delay most valuable to the Danes, as it enabled them to repair the defences, and to augment and train the garrison of Copenhagen. After the surrender of Kronenborg, Copenhagen was regularly invested by the Swedes, and the guns taken at the former place were employed against it. But Frederick and his loyal citizens made a vigorous defence, and repulsed every assault, till at length a Dutch fleet of thirty-five vessels, under Opdam, arrived to their relief. Opdam had appeared at the entrance of the Sound October 20th, but was prevented by contrary winds from entering it till the 29th, when he engaged and defeated the Swedish fleet, and compelled it to retire to Landskrona. The Dutch revictualled Copenhagen, landed a reinforcement of 2,000 men, and supplied Frederick with a loan of 3,000,000 guilders. The Swedes now withdrew to a height within a

few miles of Copenhagen, and converted the siege into a blockade.

Meanwhile, in September, the Elector of Brandenburg, with an army of 30,000 men, half of which were his own troops, and the rest Austrians under Montecuculi, and Polish cavalry under Czarnecki, had marched to the assistance of Frederick. They reached the Isle of Alsen, but the rigour of the season having prevented them from embarking on the fleet which Frederick had sent to convey them into Zealand, they penetrated into Jutland, took Kolding by storm on Christmas Day, and proceeded to drive the Swedes from other parts of that province. Thus, while Charles X. was blockading Copenhagen, he was, in fact, himself blockaded; at sea by the Dutch and Danish fleet, on land by the army of the allies. Towards the close of the year he had been tantalized by the appearance of an English fleet, which, however, was obliged to return home by unfavourable weather. On the night of the 10th February, 1659, Charles endeavoured to make himself master of Copenhagen by a desperate assault, which was repulsed with great loss, including several generals, among whom was Count Erin Stenbock; and the Swedes were compelled to retire to their fortified camp.

Brandenburg aids Denmark.

The only favourable circumstance in Charles's situation was that he had succeeded in effecting a three years' truce with the Russians, December 20th, 1658. Little of importance had occurred in the war between the Swedes and Russians since the taking of Dorpat, before recorded, except the battle of Walk, June 19th, 1657, in which a corps of 10,000 Russians was entirely defeated. The successes of the Swedes in Denmark disposed the Tsar to peace; a suspension of arms had been agreed upon in April, 1658, and subsequently the truce just mentioned. The events of the war with the Poles, Austrians, and Brandenburgers had been unfavourable. Thorn had surrendered, December 21st, 1658, after a siege of eighteen months by 40,000 Poles. At the time of its capitulation the garrison only numbered 300 men. The Elector of Brandenburg, though victorious in Jutland, could not find means to transport his army into Funen. Leaving 4,000 men in Jutland, he marched with the remainder of his troops into Swedish Pomerania, where, in the course of 1659, most of the principal towns yielded to his arms and those of the Austrians. In Prussia also, at the end

Truce between Sweden and Russia.

of the same year, the only places remaining in possession of the Swedes were Elbing and Marienburg. Meanwhile the Maritime Powers had interfered to put an end to the war in Denmark. Early in April an English fleet of forty-three vessels, under Admiral Montague, appeared in the Sound; and as some negotiations had been going on between Sweden and England, then governed by Richard Cromwell, respecting the cession of certain countries for a loan, Charles at first thought that the English fleet was come to his assistance. But Admiral Montague, and Meadows, the English minister, declared both to the Kings of Sweden and Denmark that their instructions were to negotiate the re-establishment of the Peace of Roskild, with the exception of the article which forbade the entrance of any foreign fleet into the Baltic; and that they were authorized to declare war against either monarch that refused to treat. Neither Frederick III. nor Charles X. was, however, disposed to listen to these proposals; the negotiations were protracted; and meanwhile a revolution in England compelled Richard Cromwell to resign the Protectorate, and the new Parliament subsequently resolved to take no part in the Northern War.

Convention
of the
Hague,
1659.

In May, 1659, an agreement was entered into at the Hague between England, France, and the Dutch States, to enforce the Peace of Roskild. This agreement, known as the FIRST CONVENTION OF THE HAGUE, was succeeded in July by a second, to which France was no party, and on August 14th by a third, the conditions of which were essentially the same as in the first. If the belligerent monarchs did not agree to a peace within a fortnight after the receipt of the demands of this new convention, the fleets were to be employed against the party or parties refusing.¹ This was the first attempt in European policy to coerce a conquering nation by forcing upon it a treaty; and it was afterwards repeated against France by the Triple Alliance. Both the Danish and Swedish King were at first indignant at this coercion. Frederick III., however, soon accepted the proffered terms; but Charles obstinately rejected them, and insisted that all negotiations should be carried on only between the two belligerent Powers. The English admiral, who had been instructed not to interfere, then sailed home, while De Ruyter, the commander

¹ Dumont, t. vi. pt. ii. p. 252 sqq.

of the Dutch fleet, commenced hostilities against the Swedes. He carried over to Funen about 4,000 men of the allied army, who, having joined a Danish corps at Odense, completely defeated the Swedes near Nyeborg to whom, indeed, they were much superior in number (Nov. 14th, 1659). Next day De Ruyter bombarded Nyeborg, where the routed Swedes had taken refuge, and compelled it to surrender.

Negotiations had been commenced between Sweden and Denmark in some tents pitched between Copenhagen and the Swedish camp; but Charles X. did not live to see their conclusion. He had retired to Gothenburg, where he was seized with a fever, of which he died February 13th, 1660. In his short reign of about five years he had performed many extraordinary exploits, which, however, redounded more to his own military reputation than to the solid advantage of his people. He left a son only four years of age, during whose minority he appointed by his will a regency consisting of his wife, his brother, and four senators. The provisions of the will were, however, modified by the States, who ultimately appointed a regency consisting of the Queen-Mother, with two votes; the Lord High Steward, Peter Brahe; the Lord High Admiral, Charles Gustavus Wrangel; the Lord High Chancellor, Count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie; and the Lord High Treasurer, Gustavus Bonde.

Death of
Charles X.

Before the negotiations between Sweden and Denmark were concluded, a peace had been effected between Poland and Sweden. The Poles were suspicious of their allies, the Emperor Leopold and the Elector of Brandenburg; for about this time a project was talked of for a partition of Poland between those Powers and Russia; while on the side of Sweden, the distress of the Swedish garrisons in Prussia was a pressing motive for peace. Austria and Brandenburg used every endeavour to thwart the negotiations, which were conducted under French mediation in the convent of Oliva, near Dantzic. The TREATY OF OLIVA, which is as celebrated in the North of Europe as those of Münster and Osnabrück in the South, was signed May 3rd, 1660. John Casimir renounced his claim to the Swedish crown, but was allowed to retain the title of King of Sweden, which, however, was not to be borne by his successors. Thus an end was put to the pretensions of the Polish Vasas. All Livonia beyond the Dwina was ceded to Sweden, but Poland retained the southern

Treaty of
Oliva, 1660.

and western districts. The Duke of Courland, whom Charles had carried off, was to be liberated and restored to his dominions, and Sweden gave up all the places which she had seized in Prussia.¹ The Treaty of Oliva also established peace between the Emperor Leopold, the Elector of Brandenburg and Sweden. The Emperor restored to Sweden all the places in Mecklenburg and Pomerania occupied by his troops. Sweden abandoned to the Elector her claim of suzerainty for the Duchy of Prussia; and thus the ambitious scheme of Charles X. for uniting his German possessions with those on the Gulf of Finland was finally frustrated.

Treaty of
Copen-
hagen, 1660.

The TREATY OF COPENHAGEN between Sweden and Denmark, after being long adjourned, not only by the disputes of the principals, but also of the three mediators, France, England, and Holland, was at length signed, June 6th, 1660. It was essentially a confirmation of the treaty of Roskild, but with the omission of the clause which shut the Baltic to foreign fleets, as well as of that which gave Sweden an immunity from the Sound dues. Sweden restored all her Danish conquests.²

Peace of
Kardis,
1661.

The war still continued between Russia and Poland, nor had any definitive treaty of peace yet been made between Sweden and Russia. In 1658 the Poles, being no longer in danger from the Swedes, had renewed the war with Russia: they seemed to forget the promise of their throne to the son of Alexis, and assisted the revolted Cossacks against him. The campaign of 1660 was very disastrous to the Russians, who were defeated in several battles. The Tsar now became desirous of a definitive arrangement with Sweden. Negotiations were opened at Kardis on the frontier of Esthonia, but it was not till July 1st, 1661, that the PEACE OF KARDIS was signed.³ By this treaty the Russians restored all that they had taken in Livonia, and the treaty of Stolbova was confirmed, except in a few points. The war between the Poles and Russians lingered on some years without any very remarkable events; till at length, in January, 1667, both parties being equally weary of the struggle, a truce of thirteen years

¹ Dumont, t. vi. pt. ii. p. 303.

² *Theatrum Europ.* t. viii. p. 1269; Dumont, t. vi. pt. ii. p. 319.

³ There is an extract of the Treaty of Kardis, or Pleyssesmond, in Dumont, *Ibid.* p. 363. It has never been printed entire. Cf. Koch and Schoell, *Hist. des Traités*, t. xiii. p. 25.

was concluded at Andrusoff, to terminate in June, 1680.¹ The Cossacks were now divided into two tribes, one under Polish government, the other under that of Russia; with two distinct *Hetmans* to be named respectively by the King of Poland and the Tsar. The thirteen years' war with Poland (1654—1667) first stamped Russia as a European Power.

¹ Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 4.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE SUPREMACY OF FRANCE

Alfonso VI.
of Portugal.

ONE of the principal motives with the Spanish Court for concluding the Treaty of the Pyrenees (*supra*, p. 380) was the desire to prosecute with vigour the war with Portugal, and again to reduce that kingdom under the crown of Spain. The Portuguese throne was now occupied by a new sovereign. John IV., the founder of the House of Bragança, had died in 1656; and as his eldest son Theodosio was dead, he was succeeded by his second son, Alfonso VI., then only thirteen years of age. In the Queen-Mother, Doña Luisa de Gusman, who now assumed the reigns of government for her minor son, Portugal acquired both a spirited and a prudent Regent. Of such a ruler she stood much in need. Besides the Spanish war, she now became involved in a war with the Dutch. The relations between Portugal and the United Netherlands had been for many years of the most singular kind. The Dutch, as already related,¹ had supported the Portuguese revolution and declaration of independence, events which were highly favourable to them in their war with Spain; in June, 1641, a truce of ten years had been concluded between the two nations, and they mutually agreed to assist each other against the common enemy with a fleet of twenty ships.² But this truce did not extend to America and the East Indies. Although the Portuguese colonies had, like the mother country, thrown off the Spanish yoke, and declared for the House of Bragança, yet the Dutch continued to attack them; and this colonial warfare was carried on many years with varying success, without any breach of the peace between the two nations in Europe. At the time when John IV. ascended the

¹ Above, p. 319.

² Dumont, t. vi. pt. i. p. 215.

throne of Portugal, the Dutch had succeeded in wresting half Brazil from the Spaniards; but the Portuguese colonists, without any aid from the mother country, gradually recovered it, and in 1654 had entirely expelled the Dutch from that colony: a success which they owed in no small degree to the threatening attitude assumed by England towards the United Netherlands, and the naval war which subsequently broke out between these two countries. The Portuguese had also recovered Angola and St. Thomas, whilst, on the other hand, the Dutch had made themselves masters of the Cape of Good Hope and of Colombo in Ceylon.

In this state of things, the death of John IV. of Portugal, and the accession of a minor King under the guardianship of his mother, inspired the States-General with the hope of extorting favourable conditions by means of a formidable demonstration. A fleet of fourteen Dutch ships of war, under Wassenaar, appeared in the Tagus to demand from the Regent the restoration of the Portuguese conquests in Africa and Brazil, together with an indemnification for losses suffered; and when these terms were refused, the Dutch ambassadors quitted Lisbon, after making a formal declaration of war. De Ruyter, who had been cruising in the Mediterranean, now came to the assistance of Wassenaar; the combined fleets cruised on the coasts of Portugal, molested her Brazilian commerce, and blockaded her harbours, so that in 1658 the trade of Lisbon was almost annihilated.¹

Meanwhile the war between Spain and Portugal still continued, but without any memorable or decisive events. It was expected that the Peace of the Pyrenees would enable Spain to crush her adversary; but the Portuguese Regent averted such a catastrophe by forming alliances with France and England. Louis XIV. still dreaded that Spain, with whose utter exhaustion he was unacquainted, might again become formidable if she succeeded in reuniting Portugal under her sceptre; and he resolved, in spite of the Treaty of the Pyrenees, secretly to assist the Portuguese Regent. Doña Luisa formed a still closer alliance with England, where Charles II., with the assistance of General Monk, had remounted the throne of his ancestors, May 29th, 1660. The

English and
Portuguese
alliance.

¹ Southey, *Hist. of Brazil*, vol. ii. p. 243 sqq. Van Kampen, *Gesch. der Niederlande*, B. ii. S. 162 f.

Marriage of
Charles II.
and Catha-
rine of
Bragança.

Portuguese Regent induced Charles to conclude a marriage contract with her eldest daughter, Catharine, by which he was to receive, besides a dowry of half a million sterling, the settlements of Tangiers in Africa and Bombay in the East Indies; whilst he in turn engaged to succour Portugal with 3,000 men and ten ships of war.¹ The marriage was celebrated in May, 1662. So far was Louis from feeling any jealousy of this connection, and the introduction of the English into the Mediterranean, that he promoted the marriage, as favourable to his policy with regard to Spain, and agreeable to the alliance which he had formed with the House of Stuart. In March, 1661, his brother Philip had married Henrietta, sister of Charles II., and had been invested on the occasion with the Duchy of Orleans.

Alfonso VI.
deposed.

These alliances enabled Portugal to withstand all the assaults of her enemies. Through the mediation of England she concluded a peace with the Dutch in August, 1661. This treaty, however, only freed her from immediate annoyance in Europe. Disputes arose about its ratification; the Dutch availed themselves of the delay to make conquests in the Portuguese colonies; and it was not till July, 1669, that a definitive treaty of peace was signed at the Hague.² Portugal derived more assistance from her allies against the Spaniards. In 1661 Louis despatched Marshal Schönberg, a German, to Lisbon with 4,000 men; and when Philip IV. complained of this proceeding, as an infringement of the Treaty of the Pyrenees, he was answered that the French Government had no concern in it; that Schönberg and most of his men were foreigners over whom they had no control; and though decrees were issued against enlistment and volunteering, care was taken that they should not taken effect till the men had reached Portugal. The French and English troops under Schönberg proved the salvation of Portugal. Philip IV.'s illegitimate son, Don John of Austria, who commanded the Spanish army, was at first successful, and took Evora; but being defeated at Estrenoz in 1663, he retired from the command. His successor, the Marquis de Caracena, sustained a

¹ The treaty is in La Clède, *Hist. Générale de Portugal*, t. viii. p. 307.

² Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 114. The Dutch retained all their conquests, and Portugal engaged to give salt to the value of a million florins for Brazil.

complete defeat at Villa Viciosa in 1665. This was the last remarkable event during the reign of Alfonso VI. Don Pedro, his younger brother, induced Alfonso, by threats and remonstrances, to sign an act of abdication, upon which he was banished to Terceira, and subsequently removed to the castle of Cintra, where he died in 1683. After his brother's abdication Don Pedro was proclaimed Regent; and he soon afterwards married his sister-in-law, a princess of the House of Nemours, she having procured from the Pope a divorce.

Meanwhile Louis XIV. was beginning to display that overbearing pride and ambition which during so many years disturbed the peace of Europe. Agreeably to his maxim, *l'état c'est moi*, he seemed to regard himself as the vicegerent of the Almighty upon earth, and responsible to Him alone; in accordance with which principle he required from his subjects a blind and unlimited obedience.¹ The tone which he adopted towards foreign Powers was equally haughty and uncompromising. Thus he dismissed M. de Pomponne, an able negotiator, because he had not sufficient force and grandeur for the representative of so great a monarch; and, in spite of the remonstrances of Colbert, he sacrificed the commercial interests of France in the treaty of Nimeguen for the sake of some clauses which only flattered his pride.² His lofty pretensions were manifested in his very bearing. His bigotry was almost as remarkable as his pride. His religious education had been conducted by his mother, who had inspired him with all the prejudices of a Spanish devotee.³ Yet he did not suffer even these to stand in the way of his absolute authority. He required as implicit a submission from his clergy as from his other subjects; and we shall have to record

Character
of Louis
XIV.

¹ In his own words: "Celui qui a donné des rois aux hommes, a voulu qu'on les respectât comme ses lieutenants, se réservant à lui seul le droit d'examiner leur conduite. Sa volonté est que quiconque est né sujet obéisse *sans discernement*."—*Instructions pour le Dauphin*, *Œuvres*, t. ii. p. 336.

² Lémontey, *Œuvres*, t. v. p. 82, 120. Versailles was decorated with the apotheosis of Louis; and it is said that the family of La Feuillade burned incense before his statue, till pious scruples urged him to abolish the practice. *Ibid.* p. 122.

³ He counselled his grandson, Philip V., to maintain the Inquisition; advice which Philip followed so well that he burned between two and three thousand heretics. Llorente, t. iv. p. 29.

several instances in which he disputed and opposed the authority of the Pope.

These are the darker shades in Louis's character. He possessed, on the other hand, many solid as well as brilliant qualities, which gained him the admiration, if not the love, of his subjects, and entitled him, in their view at least, to the appellation of "Louis le Grand." He was one of the handsomest men in his kingdom, and excelled in all bodily exercises, especially dancing. With a grave and dignified deportment he united affability towards his own sex, and a refined gallantry in his intercourse with ladies. His apprehension was quick, his judgment sound; and to these qualities were added great strength of will and an indefatigable industry and application.¹ He entered his cabinet at ten o'clock every morning, and remained in it with his ministers till twelve. He also gave them separate audiences in the evening. He encouraged literature and art; while the victories of his generals, often ascribed by popular flattery to himself, threw a military lustre over his reign.

Haughti-
ness of
Louis XIV.

Louis had very early given some specimens of his haughtiness. He had instructed his ambassadors always to assert their precedence over those of Spain; and the Spanish ambassador at London having, by the aid of an English mob, carried off this privilege, Louis compelled Philip IV., by threatening him with hostilities, solemnly to renounce all such pretensions in future, a concession which Louis recorded in presence of the assembled diplomatic body. Soon afterwards a somewhat similar occurrence took place at Rome. The Duke of Créquì, the French ambassador in that city, had offended the Papal government by his haughtiness; an affray took place in consequence between the Pope's Corsican guard and Créquì's people, in which the latter were worsted, and the ambassador himself was insulted and fired upon. But Louis took up the cause of his representative with so much vigour, that Pope Alexander VII. was obliged to dismiss his Corsicans, and to erect before their former guardhouse a pyramid, with an inscription recording the decree for their expulsion. Alexander also consented to send his nephew, Cardinal Chigi, into France to make excuses, the first legate

¹ See the Report of the Nuncio Chigi, in the *Archives Curieuses de l'Hist. de France*, t. xi.

of the Court of Rome who had ever been employed on such a mission.¹ These acts showed the vigour which might be expected in the foreign policy of the young King of France. Ever since his marriage his views had been directed towards reaping the eventual succession of the Spanish Crown. He always regarded the Treaty of the Pyrenees as a step towards further acquisitions, and all his measures had been calculated to assert his claims when the proper opportunity should arrive. The death of the young brother of his wife, the heir of the Spanish crowns, in June, 1661, seemed to clear the way to this succession, but in the following November it was again barred by the birth of another sickly infant, the future Charles II.

The death of Philip IV. of Spain, in September, 1665, supposed to have been accelerated by the battle gained by the Portuguese at Villa Viciosa, opened out to Louis the prospect of realizing at least part of his plans. Franche-Comté and the Spanish Netherlands, transferred by Phillip II. to his daughter Clara Eugenia,² had, on the death of that princess without heirs, in 1633, reverted to Philip IV. Philip's first consort was then alive, and the only surviving issue by this marriage at the time of Philip's death was Maria Theresa, the Queen of France. Now by a law of the countries in question, called the *Jus Devolutionis*, the children of the first bed, whether male or female, were entitled, on the death of their father, to inherit his real estate; and on this law Louis founded the claim of his consort to the provinces of Brabant, Mechlin, Antwerp, Upper Gelderland, Namur, Limburg, Hainault, Artois, the Cambrésis, a fourth part of Luxembourg, and a third of Franche-Comté, to the exclusion of Charles II., who, though Philip's male heir, was the offspring of a second bed. The Spaniards, on the other hand, pleaded that the *Jus Devolutionis* concerned only private persons, and could not abrogate the fundamental laws of Spain, which established the indivisibility of the monarchy; and they further urged the renunciation made by Maria Theresa of all her claims at the time of her marriage. To this it was replied that the French Queen was not then of age, and consequently not capable of renouncing her legitimate rights, and, moreover, that the renunciatory clause had been rendered

Death of
Philip IV.
of Spain,
1665.

The Jus
Devolu-
tionis.

¹ Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.* ch. 7.

² Above, p. 10.

null by the non-payment of the dowry of 500,000 gold crowns, in consideration of which the renunciation had been made. On this point some discussions had taken place between the French and Spanish Cabinets in 1661, when Louis declared that if the dowry was not paid he should regard his consort's renunciation as cancelled.

It was with a view to secure the Flemish provinces of Spain that Louis had concluded with the Dutch, in April, 1662, a treaty of commerce and alliance. Towards the close of the same year, the recovery of Dunkirk, disgracefully sold to him by the English King, Charles II., gave France additional strength in that quarter. Louis had also placed his army on a most effective footing, both by reforming its constitution and discipline, and by gradually raising its numbers through secret levies which attracted no attention. In addition to these circumstances, the long minority of Charles II., an infant of three years, seemed to favour the projects which Louis had formed against Spain. The government of that country had been assumed by the Queen-Mother, Maria Anna, daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand III.; but she in turn was ruled by her German confessor, the Jesuit Niethard. Louis, however, did not feel himself in a position to prosecute his claims immediately and by force. The chief obstacle arose out of that very alliance with the Dutch which he had entered into with the view of facilitating his operations. A war had broken out between England and the United Netherlands, and the Pensionary De Witt claimed the assistance of France by virtue of the treaty of 1662.

Dutch and
English
war, 1664-
1667.

We shall not relate at any length the naval struggle between England and Holland, which lasted from 1665 to 1667, and must be familiar to most English readers. Few wars have been commenced so lightly, or have produced such memorable events in so short a period. It was entered into both by the English Court and people from interested motives, though of a different kind. The King encouraged it as a pretence to get subsidies from his Parliament, and also as a means to place his nephew, the Prince of Orange, at the head of the Dutch Republic. Charles showed that he would accept very moderate conditions, provided he could attain this last object. De Witt, as well from hatred of England, which after the Restoration knew no bounds, as from his extreme republican opinions, opposed the nomination of the Prince,

even as Captain-General; though in order to please the friends of the House of Orange, he had caused William to be adopted as "Child of the State," and had taken upon himself the care of his education. Both Charles II. and De Witt resorted to unworthy means to gratify their enmity. Charles is said to have incited a Jesuit to murder De Witt; while the Pensionary, on his side, sought to revive the civil war in England through Ludlow and Algernon Sydney.¹ While such were the motives of the King, his brother, the Duke of York, was led to encourage the war by the prospect of employment and the hope of distinguishing himself as an admiral. Lastly, the nation was envious of the commercial prosperity of the Dutch. In April, 1664, the Commons had passed a resolution that the indignities offered by the Dutch to English subjects in the Indies, Africa, and elsewhere, were intolerable; and they promised to assist the King with their lives and fortunes in suppressing them. A fleet was soon after despatched under Admiral Holmes to Africa, who seized the Dutch forts in Guinea, and the Isle of Goree, besides a number of ships. Holmes then proceeded to America, and reduced the Dutch possessions there, which were re-named New York. These aggressions, however, did not pass unavenged. De Ruyter succeeded in recapturing the places on the Guinea coast, and, though he was not successful in America, he molested the English East India commerce. Meanwhile, in Europe, upwards of one hundred and thirty Dutch vessels were seized, and that without any declaration of war, which was not formally made till March 4th, 1665. On June 13th following, was fought the battle of Lowestoft, in which, after a brave and obstinate resistance, the Dutch, under Admiral Opdam, were totally defeated with great loss.

It was under these circumstances that the Dutch called upon Louis to assist them, agreeably to treaty. Such an application was very unwelcome to the French King, especially when the situation of affairs became complicated by the death of Philip IV. He endeavoured, but in vain, to extort from the Dutch a recognition of his claims on the Spanish Netherlands; and in order to gain time, he sent an embassy to London to attempt a mediation between the bel-

Louis XIV.
declares
war on
England.

¹ De Witt's *Letters*, ap. Van Kampen, *Gesch. der Niederlande*, B. ii. S. 195.

ligerents. This having failed, he could find no further excuses for postponing the assistance which he had bound himself to afford to the Dutch, and he accordingly declared war against England, January 26th, 1666. Louis took this step with the greatest reluctance, and he assured Charles that nothing should have constrained him to it but the necessity of keeping his word. In this profession he was doubtless sincere. Throughout the war the French fleet kept at a distance from the scene of action, and the only loss which it suffered was that of a frigate taken by the English while endeavouring to run into Brest. Louis, however, was compelled by this state of affairs to postpone his designs upon the Spanish Netherlands; for a war at once with Great Britain and Spain, and probably also with the Emperor, was not to be lightly ventured.

The course
of the war.

Besides the aid of the French, the Dutch had also procured that of the King of Denmark, with whom a treaty was concluded, February, 1666; and this alliance was extended and confirmed by another treaty at the Hague in the following October, to which the Duke of Brunswick Lüneburg acceded. The States had also formed an alliance with the Elector of Brandenburg at Cleves, in February of the same year. But these Powers were of more use to the Dutch in the war which they were then waging with the Bishop of Münster than in their contest with England. Louis XIV. also had rendered the Dutch a more loyal assistance in that war, and in April, 1666, the warlike Prelate, who was in the pay of England, and had cruelly ravaged some of the Dutch provinces, was compelled to lay down his arms. The naval war of that year went, on the whole, in favour of England. The memorable battle off the North Foreland, which commenced on the 1st of June and lasted four days, was indeed left undecided; but the Dutch were defeated in a subsequent action, July 25th, and the English appeared to be masters of the seas. These advantages, however, had not been purchased without severe losses, which were aggravated by other disasters. London, after being ravaged by a dreadful pestilence, had been almost destroyed by the Great Fire. Under these circumstances, the English Cabinet was disposed to peace. In February, 1667, an envoy was despatched to Paris to discuss preliminaries; and in the following April a secret agreement was concluded between the French and English

Courts, by which Louis engaged to withdraw his assistance from the Dutch. This agreement, in itself a breach of faith towards the Dutch Republic, was, however, accompanied with a perfidy highly disastrous to England. Whilst Louis assured the English Cabinet that the Dutch would have no fleet at sea that summer, he pressed the latter to fit out their ships, and encouraged them by promising to join them with his own,¹ though he had not the smallest intention of executing that promise. The fatal effects to England are well known. Relying on Louis's word, as well as on the negotiations for a peace already begun at Breda, under the mediation of the King of Sweden, no preparations were made for defence; in June, 1667, the Dutch sailed up the Thames without opposition, took Sheerness, destroyed our ships in the Medway, infested our coasts, and threatened the safety of the capital itself.

While these disasters moved the English to accelerate the conclusion of the PEACE OF BREDA, the unexpected march of Louis XIV. into the Spanish Netherlands, in May, had the same effect on the Dutch. On the 31st of July three treaties of peace were signed between England on the one side, and Holland, France, and Denmark on the other. The basis adopted in the Dutch treaty was the *status quo* from the 10th to the 20th May, 1667. Hence the English retained New York and New Jersey, while Surinam, and the Isle of Polegone in the Moluccas, remained to the Dutch. The Navigation Act was so far modified that all merchandise coming down the Rhine was allowed to be imported into England in Dutch vessels; a measure which rendered the Dutch masters of great part of the commerce of Germany. In the treaty with France, that Power restored to England the Isle of St. Christopher's, which she had seized, and ceded Antigua and Montserrat, while she recovered Acadia and Cayenne. The chief difficulty with Denmark was the Sound dues. By a clause in the treaty, Denmark reserved her right to the Orkney Isles, anciently pledged by the Kings of Norway to the Kings of Scotland.¹

By the invasion of the Spanish Netherlands, Louis took all parties by surprise. He had fortified himself for that

Peace of
Breda,
1667.

Louis XIV.
invades the
Nether-
lands, 1667.

¹ Mignet, *Succession d'Espagne*, in the *Documens inédits sur l'Hist. de France*, t. ii. p. 40 sqq.; Harris, *Life of Charles II.* vol. ii. p. 195.

² Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 40 sqq.

step by a new offensive alliance with Portugal (March 31st, 1667), by which he engaged to pay to that Power a subsidy of 1,800,000 livres annually, till he should himself declare war against Spain.¹ The death of Louis's mother, Anne of Austria, who expired January 20th, 1666, had removed one obstacle to his enterprise. Anne's political influence in her later years was not very great: but she had exerted what she had to prevent a war between her son and the house from which she sprang. Louis had succeeded in blinding the Regent of Spain and her incompetent minister and confessor. Up to the 1st of May he had given them the most pacific assurances; on the 8th he announced to the Regent his intention of marching in person into the Netherlands to possess himself of what belonged to him in right of his wife. The Dutch were equally taken by surprise. As late as the 27th of April Louis had assured De Witt that nothing should be undertaken without his knowledge. It was indeed a question of vital importance to the United Netherlands, which might next be swallowed up if the barrier between them and France were removed. Long and anxious negotiations on the subject had been going on between the two countries, but without result. At first a plan had been discussed to erect the Spanish Netherlands into a republic under the joint protection of France and the States, and this had been succeeded by another, to divide them between these two Powers, which, however, could not agree, either as to the method or the time of the division.

Louis's
manifesto.

Louis XIV. had accompanied his announcement to the Spanish Regent with a little treatise, in which were set forth his pretensions not only to the Burgundian provinces, but also eventually to the whole Spanish monarchy. This treatise, which was in fact a sort of manifesto, was also forwarded to all the European Governments. The claim to the Spanish Netherlands was not rested on the law of devolution alone. By confounding the Kingdom of France with that of the Franks, it was asserted that the people of the Netherlands were Louis's natural subjects.² This was only another form of those claims which France has so often urged, sometimes on the ground of natural boundaries, sometimes of nation-

¹ Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 17.

² See Mignet, *Succession d'Espagne*, t. ii. p. 58 sqq.

alities. It was plain that she meant to seize the Spanish provinces, and would always be able to find a justification.

Louis placed himself at the head of his army May 20th. He had announced his invasion of the Netherlands to the European Powers simply as a "journey," as if he were going to occupy his own undisputed possessions. Armentières, Binch, Charleroi, Ath, Bergues, Furnes, Tournai, Douai, Courtrai, Oudenarde, Alost were occupied without resistance, or capitulated after a short siege; Lille made a better defence, but surrendered on August 28th. The French army now appeared before Ghent. But a rainy season had set in; it was doubtful whether the Flemish towns would surrender so readily as the Walloon, which were better inclined to the French, and spoke their language; Louis, too, was desirous of avoiding a breach with the Dutch; and for all these reasons he determined to do no more this year. He had accompanied Turenne's division of the army, had taken a personal share in some of the sieges, and had displayed no lack of courage.

Advance of
the French.

Louis had also determined to strike a blow in another direction. Franche-Comté, nominally a Spanish province, was in fact almost an independent state. Being completely isolated from the Spanish possessions, the Government of Spain found it necessary to accord great privileges to the inhabitants, lest they should transfer their allegiance elsewhere. Although ostensibly subject to the Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, the real authority lay with the Governor of the province, elected from among its nobles, and with the Parliament of Dôle, which enjoyed the chief share in the administration. Franche-Comté yielded but a trifling revenue to Spain, and little care had consequently been taken for its defence. Its reduction was intrusted to the Prince of Condé, who, as Governor of Burgundy, was advantageously situated for that purpose. A considerable body of troops was secretly assembled; the attention of the Swiss was diverted, who, like the Dutch, did not wish to have the French for their neighbours; and in February, 1688, Condé's forces invaded Franche-Comté. Louis hastened from Paris to the scene of action, and joined Condé before Dôle. That capital surrendered February 13th, and in a fortnight the whole province was reduced. Louis now placed both Burgundies under the government of Condé.

Franche-
Comté
reduced.

Policy of
De Witt.

These rapid conquests inspired not only Spain, but all Europe also with alarm. To give any efficient aid to the Netherlands was totally out of the power of the Spanish Government. It was impossible to raise fresh taxes in Spain; the galleons which brought the American tribute were not due till the end of the year; a national subscription was tried, but failed;¹ and to add to these embarrassments, the Portuguese, at the instigation of the French King, invaded Estremadura. Spain had declared war against France, July 14th, 1667, but without the means to carry it on. She appealed to all Europe for help, but nobody was inclined to give her any active succour. She had recently concluded a commercial treaty with England, on terms favourable to this country; but she was not permitted to levy soldiers in Great Britain. The Elector of Brandenburg resolved to maintain a neutral position. The Emperor Leopold, to whom Spain might have looked with more confidence, was actually negotiating with France, as will be explained further on. The Marquis of Castel Rodrigo, the Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, in vain invoked the aid of the Dutch States, and offered to give up the tolls on the Maes and Schelde for a loan of two million guilders. The Spanish ambassador, Gamarra, proposed still more tempting conditions, and engaged to place Bruges, Ostend, Damme, and the forts of St. Isabella and St. Donas in the hands of the Dutch, in return for a loan of one million guilders, and the aid of 12,000 men. These negotiations form a turning point in the career of De Witt. They affect not only his fame as a statesman, but may even be said to have been the cause of his death. His situation, no doubt, was one of extreme difficulty. He knew that a league with Spain would be considered by France as a declaration of war; nor did the weakness of Spain, and the lukewarmness of her Belgian subjects, offer much encouragement to embark with her in such a contest. On the other hand, it should be considered that a war with France would have been popular with the Dutch, who for the most part detested the French; and that to allow the latter to fix themselves in the Spanish Netherlands was only to facilitate a future attack on the United Provinces themselves. In these circumstances De Witt adopted the dangerous ex-

¹ Mignet, *Succession d'Espagne*, t. ii. p. 121 sqq.

pedient of a compromise. He resolved to avoid an immediate breach with France, and yet to force her to set a bound to her conquests, though he could not but have been aware how offensive such a course would be to a young and ambitious monarch like Louis XIV. Such was the policy he followed in the alliance with England and Sweden, which we have now to relate.

After the Peace of Breda, Louis had endeavoured to conciliate England by enticing offers. He held out the baits of a treaty of commerce, subsidies, the cession of a Netherland port, and the abandonment of Spanish America to the English arms, provided he might be allowed to occupy the Spanish Netherlands without opposition. Charles himself was lured with the offer of aid in case of need against his rebellious subjects.¹ But, though Clarendon had been disgraced, the time was not yet ripe for so intimate a connection between the French and English Crowns. The English Cabinet listened in preference to the envoys of the United Provinces, who were continually pressing Charles to join them in interposing between France and Spain. In December, 1667, Sir William Temple, the British resident at Brussels, received instructions to proceed to the Hague and negotiate a treaty with the States. In his conferences with De Witt, Temple urged him to conclude an offensive alliance, by which France should be compelled to relinquish all her recent conquests. But the policy of De Witt was, as already said, more temporizing. He dreaded an open breach with France, and wished to have Louis for a friend, though not for a neighbour. Temple yielded to his arguments, and, after a few days' negotiation, an alliance was concluded at the Hague, January 23rd, 1668, which, from the accession to it of Sweden, has been called the TRIPLE ALLIANCE. There were two treaties:² one established a defensive alliance between Great Britain and the States; the other, with a reservation for the accession of Sweden, erected those two Powers into mediators between the belligerent Crowns. France was to be persuaded to an armistice; Spain was to be forced to accept one of the alternatives already offered by Louis: namely, that he should be left in possession of all the places he had conquered in 1667; or that he should have instead of them either the

The Triple
Alliance,
1668.

¹ Mignet, t. ii. p. 509.

² Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 66 sqq.

Duchy of Luxembourg or Franche-Comté; and together with either of these provinces, the Cambrésis, Douai, Aire, St. Omer and Furnes. There were also three secret Articles: 1. That no question should be raised about the renunciation of Maria Theresa; 2. That if the war should continue between Spain and Portugal, France should respect the neutrality of the States; 3. That if France rejected a peace on these conditions, England and the States should assist Spain till matters were restored to the footing established by the Peace of the Pyrenees. This last clause, which came to the knowledge of Louis, gave him very great offence. Dohna, the Swedish envoy, acceded to the treaty on the day of its execution; but the object of it was attained before it was formally ratified by Sweden. The key to this change of policy on the part of the Swedish Court, after an alliance of nearly half a century with France, lies in the circumstance that the latter Power had withdrawn the subsidies which she formerly paid to Sweden, and that the Dutch had undertaken to furnish them.

Peace
between
Spain and
Portugal.

About the same time a peace was concluded between Spain and Portugal. After the War of Devolution had broken out, Spain became inclined to listen to English offers of mediation, and the negotiations for a peace were conducted during the revolution in Portugal already described. Don Pedro, the new Regent of Portugal, though secretly inclined to France, whose interest it was that the war should be prolonged, was compelled by the Cortes to sign the Treaty of Lisbon, February 13th, 1668. The independence of Portugal was acknowledged, and all conquests were restored on both sides, except Ceuta, which was ceded to the Spaniards.¹ Thus was at length concluded a war which had lasted more than a quarter of a century.

Peace of
Aix-la-
Chapelle,
1668.

The peace between Spain and Portugal had the effect of facilitating in some degree the negotiations between France and the allies. Louis did not learn the conclusion of the Triple Alliance till he had completed the conquest of Franche-Comté. The question of pushing the war with vigour, or submitting to the arbitrament of the allies, was discussed with great warmth and much difference of opinion among Louis's

¹ Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 70. Cf. *Mémoires d'Ablancourt*, the French envoy in Portugal, p. 253.

generals and ministers; but the King himself was inclined to abide by the alternatives which he had offered. Louis consented to a fresh truce till the end of May, and a Congress was opened at Aix-la-Chapelle; but the negotiations were really conducted at St. Germain. The Marquis of Castel Rodrigo accepted, as Spanish plenipotentiary, the first of the two alternatives just specified, and a preliminary treaty was signed at St. Germain, April 15th, 1668.¹ This injudicious choice, which placed in the hands of France the keys of the Netherlands, is said to have been made by Spain, in order to compel the allies, from the desperate nature of her situation, and the danger with which it threatened the Dutch provinces, to aid her in case of further attack.² After the treaty of St. Germain, the definitive treaty, signed at Aix-la-Chapelle, May 2nd, was little more than a form. France retained all her conquests in the North, and restored Franche-Comté to Spain,³ the integrity of whose other possessions was guaranteed. England proposed to make the Triple Alliance permanent, and to obtain the accession of Spain; but De Witt either feared to offend France too far, or distrusted the sincerity of the British Cabinet.

The conduct of the Dutch had inflicted on the pride of Louis a wound too deep to be easily healed. His heart was bent on revenge, and his whole policy was directed to obtain it. His anger was further inflamed by the boasting of the Dutch. That little republic had now reached the summit of her good fortune. She had not only achieved her own independence against the colossal power of Spain, but had also vindicated the rights of other nations, including those of Spain herself. She had saved Denmark from the grasp of Sweden; she had fought at least a drawn battle with England for the dominion of the seas; and now she had prescribed bounds to the haughty and powerful sovereign of France. There was nothing, therefore, but what was strictly true in the inscription on the medal which the Council of State caused to be struck in commemoration of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in which credit was taken for having asserted the laws, purified religion, aided, defended, and conciliated kings, vindicated the liberty of the seas, conquered by arms an advantageous peace,

Haughtiness of the Dutch.

¹ Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 88.

² See, for these negotiations, Sir William Temple's *Letters*.

³ Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 89.

and established the tranquillity of Europe.¹ The assertion of having done all this was, however, far from being the less offensive because it was true. Matters were rendered worse by the loud and offensive boasting of the Dutch journals, and by the personal bearing of Van Beuningen, the ambassador of the States at the French Court, whose republican frankness, not to say rudeness, was offensive to Louis and his ministers.

Louis
XIV.'s
anger at
them.

It was not, however, merely from personal feeling that Louis wished to humble or destroy the Dutch Republic. He had political motives also. He hated the United Netherlands because they were the asylum of civil and religious liberty, and the centre of those ideas which were directly opposed to his own principles and institutions. Another cause of complaint was that the importation of French goods and manufactures, except wine, into the United Provinces had been prohibited, or at all events allowed only under very exorbitant duties; though this, indeed, was only a retaliation for the policy of Colbert. Add that the Dutch were the chief obstacle which prevented Louis from seizing the whole of the Spanish provinces, and we need not be surprised at his determination to ruin them. As a preliminary step, however, the Triple Alliance must be dissolved. Louis first attempted to effect this by means of the Dutch themselves; but De Witt resisted all Pomponne's endeavours for that purpose.² After this failure, which embittered Louis all the more against the Dutch, he turned his views to England and Sweden. De Witt, who saw the danger to which he had exposed his country, endeavoured, when it was too late, to disarm the French King by advances and propositions of various kinds; but Louis had made up his mind, though he kept up an appearance of negotiation, in order to amuse the Dutch. His kingly pride was deeply offended by the idea that a few republican traders should attempt to arbitrate between two of the greatest monarchs of Europe.³

¹ The medal represented the Maid of the Netherlands, the image of the Dutch Republic, treading chains under her feet, having the cap of liberty on a spear, and resting on a trophy, with ships in the distance. On the reverse was the following inscription: "Assertis legibus, emendatis sacris, adjutis, defensis, conciliatis regibus, vindicata marium libertate, pace egregia virtute armorum parta, stabilita Orbis Europæi quiete." See Van Loon, *Hist. métallique des Pays Bays*, t. iii. p. 22.

² D'Estrades, *Lettres, Mémoires, et Négociations*, t. vi. p. 444.

³ Thus, in a despatch to the French ambassador in Holland, Lionne

The chief aim of Louis was to cement a firm alliance with England, in which Charles II. was disposed to meet him halfway. After the disgrace of Clarendon, Charles fell more and more into the hands of Buckingham, Arlington, and the other members of the Cabal. The few religious ideas entertained by Charles were in favour of the Roman Catholic faith. He harboured, as is well known, the dream of re-establishing, some day or other, with the aid of the French King, that worship in his dominions; a project which, however chimerical, contributed to form a bond of union between the two sovereigns. Want of money, however, was the chief motive with Charles to form the French alliance. While his exchequer was always empty, that of Louis was overflowing, and the surplus at the disposal of such princes or ministers as were willing to be bought. At the same time there is reason to believe that Charles hoped to further England's colonial interests by the capture of the Dutch possessions in the East and West. France was yet no formidable rival to England in the colonial world, and as long as the English held the Dutch islands off the coast of Holland a French attack on Britain could be easily prevented. In December, 1669, Charles offered his services to Louis on terms which show that if he and his advisers were ready to barter away the civil and religious liberties of England, they were at the same time anxious to promote her foreign interests, at least as they were then understood. They claimed, besides large money payments, a considerable eventual share in the Spanish succession;¹ and from the spoils of the Dutch Republic, Sluys and the Isles of Walcheren and Cad-sand. These claims were afterwards modified. Charles consented to postpone the question of the Spanish succession, and to reduce his pecuniary demands; and on May 22nd, 1670, a secret treaty was arranged at Dover between Charles and his sister, Henrietta of Orleans, who went thither on pretence of a friendly visit. Charles engaged to declare himself a Roman Catholic, on condition of Louis giving him two million livres, and supporting him with 6,000 foot against the consequences which might ensue. Charles was to declare his conversion at what time he pleased, and after his declaration

The treaty
of Dover.

writes: "Il n'appartient pas à des marchands, qui sont eux-mêmes des usurpateurs, de décider souverainement des intérêts des deux plus grands monarques de la Chrétienté."—Mignet, t. iii. p. 583 sqq.

¹ Minorca, Ostend, and Spanish America. *Ibid.* p. 120.

had been made, to join Louis in a war against the Dutch whenever Louis should think proper. He was to assist him with 6,000 foot and the English fleet, to which were to be added thirty French ships of, at least, forty guns; and Charles was to receive a subsidy of three million livres a year during the war. The treaty was signed by Colbert de Croissi, the French ambassador, and on the part of Charles by four commissioners, all Catholics.¹ Louis ratified it by an autograph letter to Charles, June 10th. Charles gave his sister to understand that he would permit the French King to attack Holland before he had declared his own conversion, notwithstanding the article to the contrary in the treaty. The goodwill of Charles had been conciliated by ministering to one of his foibles. Henrietta had brought in her suite Mademoiselle de Querouaille, with whom Charles was immediately captivated. She departed with the Duchess of Orleans, but was persuaded without much difficulty to return to England, where she became the noted Duchess of Portsmouth; and, as Charles's mistress, contributed to keep alive the good understanding between him and the French Court.

Louis seizes
Lorraine.

Charles was probably never sincere in the design of publicly changing his religion, or rather, perhaps, of assuming any at all; but the treaty seems to have encouraged his brother, the Duke of York, openly to profess his adherence to the Catholic faith, and may thus be considered as having prepared the fall of the Stuart dynasty. A second treaty, intended to be made public when the war should break out, and relating, therefore, only to the affairs of Holland, was signed on the 31st of the following December by Colbert de Croissi and those of Charles's ministers who were not in the secret of his contemplated apostasy.² Louis was in hopes to

¹ The Lords Arlington and Arundel, Sir Thomas Clifford, and R. Bellings. This secret treaty, which was in the possession of the Clifford family, was first published by Dr. Lingard, by permission of Lord Clifford, in 1830. It will be found in his *Hist. of England*, vol. ix. App. note B. By later agreements the English share of the Dutch conquests was to be augmented by the Isles of Voorne and Goree, thus giving England the command of the Schelde and the Maes.

² By this treaty Charles was to receive five million livres instead of three; but in a secret article, unknown to Buckingham, it was acknowledged that two of these were the price of his conversion. Lingard, vol. ix. p. 185.

have begun the war in the spring of 1671, but the state of his negotiations in Germany and elsewhere induced him to put it off till the following year. In order to facilitate his attack on the United Netherlands, he had seized the Duchy of Lorraine (September, 1670). The restless Duke Charles IV. had afforded the French King a pretext for this aggression, by having, in contravention of the treaty of the Pyrenees, revoked his engagement that his dominions should fall to France after his death; as well as by levying troops, fortifying several places, and contracting alliances without the knowledge of the King.¹ The occupation of Lorraine caused a great sensation in Europe, and especially among the Dutch, to whom it presaged the coming storm. The acquisition was of great importance to France, not only from its magnitude, but also strategically, as the communication between the Netherlands and Franche-Comté was thus intercepted. Charles IV., who was closely connected with the Imperial family, fled to Vienna, and afterwards served against Louis in the Dutch war. Leopold addressed to the French Court some remonstrance in his favour; but though this occurrence produced for some time a coldness between the Emperor and Louis, it did not eventually put an end to the good understanding, the origin of which we must now relate.

Louis had, early in 1667, made proposals to the Emperor for dividing between them the dominions of Spain in the event of the death, without issue, of the sickly young king, Don Carlos II. The present object of Louis in these negotiations was to prevent the Emperor from interfering in his designs upon the Spanish Netherlands. Leopold and the House of Austria had, perhaps, equal pretensions to the Spanish succession with Louis and his heirs. Neither Leopold's mother, Maria Anna, daughter of Philip III., nor his wife, Margaret, daughter of Philip IV., had renounced her claims to the Spanish throne, as both Anne of Austria, the mother, and Maria Theresa, the wife of Louis XIV., also daughters respectively of Philip III. and Philip IV., had done. But as neither Leopold nor Louis could hope to reap the entire succession, and as Leopold was at that time governed by his minister, Auersberg, who was in the pay of Louis, he was easily induced to enter into the views of the

Secret
treaty
between
Louis and
Leopold for
the future
partition of
Spain.

¹ *Theatrum Europ.* t. x. pt. ii. p. 347.

French King. In January, 1668, a secret treaty was accordingly concluded at Vienna with Gremonville, the French ambassador; by which it was agreed that in the event just specified, the Emperor should have Spain, except Navarre and Rosas, the Milanese, certain places in Tuscany, the Balearic Isles, Sardinia, the Canaries, and the Spanish West India possessions; while Louis's share was to be the Catholic Netherlands, Franche-Comté, Navarre, Rosas, Oran, Melilla, Ceuta, &c., in Africa, the two Sicilies, and the Philippine Isles.¹ Soon after this treaty, Auersberg was dismissed from Leopold's service, his subserviency to France having become only too manifest by the attempt of Louis to procure for him a cardinal's hat from Pope Clement X. His successor, Lobkowitz, was, however, equally sold to Louis; and down to that King's actual invasion of Holland, and, in fact, till 1674, no step was taken by Leopold to oppose the progress of the French. The leagues of the Emperor in January and June, 1672, with the Electors and Princes of Mainz, Trèves, Saxony, Brandenburg, Brunswick Lüneburg, Hesse Cassel, and other German Powers, as well as Denmark, were purely defensive, and to prevent the Empire from being attacked; and though an Austrian force under Montecuculi was sent to the Rhine in June, Gremonville was assured that it would not act offensively. Indeed, the true politics of Lobkowitz and the Imperial Court at this juncture are shown by another treaty with France, November 1st, 1671; by which it was agreed that neither the Emperor nor the French King should support the other's enemies; and that Leopold should not interfere in any war arising out of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and waged outside the boundaries of the Empire.²

Louis's
influence in
Germany.

It was manifest from this treaty that Louis had nothing to apprehend from the Emperor in any enterprise against the Dutch. The position of most of the other German Powers was equally encouraging to him. The Elector of Bavaria was entirely in the interests of France. The ill state of health of the Emperor Leopold had caused Louis to imagine that the Imperial Crown would soon be vacant; the Elector had promised the French King his vote, and in 1670 a secret

¹ Mignet, t. ii. p. 441 sqq. This treaty is not in the usual collections; but it is avowed by Louis himself in a *Mém. d'Instruction* to the Marquis d'Harcourt. See Garden, *Hist. des Traités*, t. ii. p. 190.

² *Theatrum Europ.* t. xi. p. 37.

treaty had been concluded between them, the main feature of which was a marriage between the Dauphin and the Elector's daughter. The Elector Palatine followed this example, and was recompensed for his adherence to France by the marriage of his daughter to the King's brother, the Duke of Orleans, whose wife, Henrietta, had expired soon after her visit to Dover. The Duke of Hanover and the Bishop of Osnaburg espoused Louis's cause so warmly that they granted him the exclusive right to levy troops in their dominions. The Elector of Cologne and the Bishop of Münster, with a view to self-interest, were still more ardent in his cause. They drew closer their former relations with France by a new treaty in January, 1672; by which the Elector engaged to aid the King against the Dutch with an army of 18,000 men for a subsidy of 8,000 crowns a month, and in consideration of a sum of 400,000 livres to admit a French garrison into Neuss. The Bishop promised to unite his forces with those of the Elector, and both were to receive a share of the future conquests. Among the German Princes the politic Elector Frederick William of Brandenburg seemed long doubtful as to which side he should favour. In December, 1669, he had concluded a treaty with Louis, by which he agreed not to join the Triple Alliance, and to support the King's claims to the Spanish Netherlands; but he would make no promise with regard to Holland. The ruin of that Republic appeared to him to be too great a peril both for Protestantism and for Germany to be ventured on. Yet he had not much reason to be satisfied with the Dutch, who withheld from him Wesel, Rees, Emmerich, and two or three other places in the Duchy of Cleves, which they had taken from the Spaniards during the Thirty Years' War; while Louis endeavoured to entice him to their ruin by the most tempting offers. The French King proposed that the Dutch Republic should be dissolved; that France should take the provinces to the west of the Meuse; that the Elector of Brandenburg should have Gelderland and Zutphen; the Elector of Cologne, Utrecht, Münster, and Overijssel; the Duke of Lüneburg, Friesland; the Duke of Neuburg, Gröningen; while Holland and Zealand were to fall to the House of Orange; and all these provinces were to form a Confederate State.¹ But Frederick William was not

¹ Puffendorf, *De Reb. Gest. Frid. Wilh.* lib. xi. § 5.

to be dazzled; and eventually he threw in his lot with the Dutch, by concluding with them, in April, 1672, a treaty by which he engaged to assist them with 20,000 men.

Among the few German potentates adverse to France, the Elector of Mainz took the leading part. This Prince had formerly been a warm friend of France, and the principal agent in establishing the Rhenish League; but when the War of Devolution made him better acquainted with the views of Louis, he altered his politics; and it was through his influence that the League had been dissolved in January, 1668.¹ He succeeded in negotiating an alliance in 1672 with the Electors of Trèves and Saxony and the Margrave of Baireuth, which was also joined by the Emperor. This league, however, was a purely defensive one; the whole force which it proposed to raise did not much exceed 10,000 men, to guard the Empire from attack; and thus even the Bishop of Münster, though leagued with the French against the Dutch, conceived himself at liberty to join it.

Secure on the side of England and Germany, Sweden was the only other Power which Louis was desirous of gaining. As Denmark was the firm ally of the States-General, and as the posture of the Elector of Brandenburg became every day more hostile to France, it became highly important to Louis to secure the friendship of Sweden. With that needy but ambitious Power, money was the grand instrument of negotiation. When, in 1667, France ceased to pay Sweden the subsidies stipulated under the treaty of January, 1663, she abandoned, as we have seen, her ancient ally, and attached herself to England and the Dutch. The offer of 400,000 rix-dollars in ready money, and a yearly subsidy of 600,000 during the war, sufficed to gain her back to France. The Treaty of Stockholm, concluded April 14th, 1672,² purported

¹ It was the Elector of Mainz who attempted to divert Louis from his enterprise against the United Netherlands, by a counter-project for the conquest of Egypt; a scheme which had originated in the fertile brain of the celebrated philosopher Leibnitz, then a young man of five-and-twenty. The Elector sent Leibnitz to Paris to persuade Louis to engage in it; but the French King could not be induced to leave his destined prey for so distant and doubtful an undertaking. See Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. iv. S. 427 f.

² Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 166. The treaty was for three years, and was renewed in April, 1675. *Ibid.* p. 291. Sweden engaged to act in Pomerania with 16,000 men against those who should assist the

Louis's opponents in Germany.

Treaty between France and Sweden.

to be for the maintenance of the Peace of Westphalia, of which the two contracting Powers were guarantors; but the secret articles showed that it was directed against the Dutch, as Sweden engaged to assist Louis in case he should be attacked by the Emperor or any German Power, during his war with the United Netherlands.

While thus abandoned by almost all the world, the Dutch fixed their chief hopes of support on an alliance with the Spaniards, their ancient masters and oppressors. A revolution had now taken place in the Spanish Government. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle and the acknowledgment of Portuguese independence had excited great indignation against the Regent and her Jesuit minister; and Don John of Austria availed himself of this feeling to drive Niethard from power. Don John had been appointed Governor of the Spanish Netherlands during the French invasion, and was on the point of embarking at Coruña when the news of the arrest and execution of one of his adherents led him to return towards Madrid. The Queen, however, forbade him to approach that capital, and directed him to retire to his seat at Consuegra. Niethard, on pretence that Don John had formed a conspiracy against his life, sent a party of cavalry to arrest the Prince in its retirement; but he succeeded in escaping into Aragon, where, having collected a body of 700 determined followers, he advanced to Torrejo, within a few leagues of Madrid, and dictated to the Queen the dismissal of her Confessor. Such was Niethard's unpopularity, that even this small force enabled Don John to effect his object, especially as he was supported by several members of the Council; and, in spite of the entreaties of the Queen, her minister was compelled to retire to Rome (February, 1669). Don John, however, was not admitted to a share of the government. Niethard was succeeded by another favourite, Don Fernando de Valenzuelo; but the ambition of Don John was appeased with the viceroalties of Aragon and Catalonia. It was this new government which, in December, 1671, concluded at the Hague a treaty of alliance with the States.¹

Louis, besides the formidable combination which he had organized against the Dutch, endeavoured also to promote the

Treaty
between
the Dutch
and Spain.

De Witt's
administra-
tion.

Dutch, that is against Denmark and Brandenburg. The secret articles are in Puffendorf, *De Reb. Frid. With.* lib. xi. § 35.

¹ Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 155.

success of his enterprise by fomenting their intestine dissensions, and exciting the Orange party against De Witt. Six of the United Provinces were for appointing William III., who had now attained the age of twenty-one, Captain-General for life; a step which they thought might conciliate his uncle, Charles II., and avert a war with England. But De Witt would not consent. He would only agree that the Prince should be named Captain-General for the ensuing campaign, and that with very limited power. The province of Holland would not even go so far, and delayed the Prince's nomination till November, 1672, when he would complete his twenty-second year. It cannot be denied that the subsequent misfortunes of the Republic must, in great measure, be attributed to De Witt. The Dutch army was in a sad condition. Officers had been forbidden to enter foreign service, and thus, from the long peace by land, were entirely without experience. Promotion was obtained not through service but favour. Most of the soldiers were foreigners, discipline was neglected, and the fortresses and magazines were ill supplied and suffered to go to decay. The blame of these things must attach to De Witt.¹ The navy, on the other hand, owing to the care of De Ruyter, was in excellent condition. De Witt could not persuade himself till the last moment that Louis was in earnest in his preparations. On December 10th, 1671, the States-General addressed to the French King a most submissive letter, in which they told him they could not believe he meant to turn his arms against his ancient and most faithful allies; they protested that they had not voluntarily infringed the treaty of 1662; they offered to redress any inadvertent breaches of it, and to give his Majesty all the satisfaction he could reasonably require. They even instructed their ambassador, Van Groot, son of the illustrious Grotius, to tell the King that he had only to say the word, and the United Provinces would disarm; an action which would display the King's grandeur in a fairer light than the most complete success of his arms. Louis's reply was haughty and threatening. He contested the epithet which the States had given themselves of his "faithful" allies; he reproached them with their diplomatic intrigues against France, as well as with their hostile tariffs. He even seemed to affect a great

¹ Van Kampen, B. ii. S. 228.

condescension in replying to their letter; "which," he added, "seems not so much written for us, as to excite against our interests those princes in whose courts it has been made public before we could receive it."¹

On the 6th of April following, Louis published his declaration of war. He alleged no specific cause for hostilities, which, indeed, was out of his power. He spoke only in general terms of the ingratitude of the Dutch for the benefits they had received from his forefathers, and asserted that his "glory" would not permit him any longer to dissemble the indignation which their conduct had raised in him.² The English declaration of war had preceded by a few days that of Louis (March 29th). There was an attempt in it to specify some grievances, but their flimsiness was as transparent as that of the French manifesto. It alleged some oppressions of Charles's subjects in India, the detention of some Englishmen in Surinam; the refusal of the Dutch fleet to strike their colours to an English yacht which had on board the wife of Temple, the ambassador; and certain abusive pictures, which turned out to be a portrait of De Witt's brother, the Admiral Cornelius, with a view of the burning of Chatham in the background. A public treaty had been signed between France and England, February 12th, which was merely a repetition of the secret treaty of December 31st, 1670; except that Charles was released, during the year 1672, from his obligation to furnish the French army with a corps of infantry. A few days before the declaration of war, Admiral Sir Robert Holmes had attacked the Dutch Smyrna fleet at the back of the Isle of Wight, but with such small success as was a poor compensation for this shameful breach of international law.

Louis declares war, 1672.

Early in May, 1672, the French marched against the United Netherlands in three divisions. Louis himself accompanied the main division, which, under the command of Turenne and Condé, advanced to Viset on the Meuse, a place between Liége and Maestricht. The King was accompanied by Louvois, his minister of war, and Vauban, the celebrated engineer. The Dutch had only about 20,000 ill-disciplined men to oppose to ten times that number of French, under generals like Condé and Turenne. It is not our intention to

The French invade Holland.

¹ Mignet, t. iii. p. 657 sqq.

² *Ibid.* p. 710.

detail at any length the campaigns of Louis XIV. They have now lost much of their interest through the grander and more important ones of recent times; and we shall content ourselves with indicating some of the chief results. The French army, neglecting Maestricht, into which the Dutch had thrown a strong garrison, advanced into the duchy of Cleves, occupied with little or no resistance Orsoy, Rheinberg, Buderich, and Wesel, and penetrated into the province of Gelderland. The passage of the Rhine, or Lech, at Tolhuys, June 12th, which the flatterers of Louis magnified into a grand exploit, and celebrated in poetry, painting, and sculpture, has since been estimated at its true value.¹ The river, with the exception of a few yards in the middle, was fordable by cavalry, and the passage of the French was disputed only by some 1,200 men under Würz; the Prince of Orange with the main body of the Dutch army, having retired to Utrecht. The passage cost the French only a score or two of troopers. The operation was, however, important in its consequences, since the French, with the assistance of their allies from Cologne and Münster, occupied in a few weeks the provinces of Gelderland, Utrecht, Overysse, and part of Holland. Amsterdam itself might probably have been surprised, had Condé's bold advice been followed to direct against it a body of 6,000 cavalry.

Arrogant
demands
of Louvois.

So sudden and overwhelming an invasion, which might be compared to the bursting of their dykes and an irruption of the sea, filled the Dutch with consternation. Every man, says a Dutch writer, seemed to have received sentence of death.² Manufactures and trade were suspended; all the shops were closed, as well as the schools, universities, and courts of law; the churches alone remained open, and sufficed not to contain the anxious crowds which thronged to them. Many sent their wives and children to England, Brabant, Denmark, and even to France, together with their treasures, which others buried. In this low ebb of their fortunes, the dejection of the Dutch prompted them to make the most submissive proposals to the conqueror, in order to secure what remained to them. They offered to surrender to Louis Maestricht and its dependencies, together with Dutch Brabant

¹ Napoleon characterized it as an operation of the fourth order. *Mémoires*, t. v. p. 129.

² Valkenier, ap. Van Kampen, ii. 235.

and Flanders, and to pay him six millions for the expenses of the war. Pomponne pressed the King to accept these offers, but Louis listened in preference to the violent counsels of Louvois. By the advice of this minister, counter-proposals were made of the most extravagant nature. The cession of Dutch Brabant and Flanders was accepted; only, as the King was bound by treaty to make over Sluys and Cadsand to the English, Delfzyl and its dependencies, near the mouth of the Ems, was demanded in their stead. In like manner, instead of Maestricht, Louvois required Nimeguen and the Isles of Batavia and Bommel; that is, the Lech for a frontier instead of the Meuse; a proposition which, while it was more injurious to the Dutch, was in reality less advantageous to the French. He also demanded Grave on the Meuse and the county of Meurs; and he doubled the indemnity to be paid for the expenses of the war. But more offensive to the Dutch than all these demands were others which injured their commerce, shocked their religious prejudices, and wounded their pride. The prohibitions and new customs duties on French goods were to be revoked, without any reciprocity; the public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion was to be restored throughout the United Provinces, and, in all places which had more than one church, one was to be consecrated to the Popish worship; while, in acknowledgment of the King's goodness in granting them a peace, the Dutch were to present him every year with a gold medal, bearing an inscription that they owed to him the preservation of that liberty which his predecessors had helped them to acquire.¹

The injustice and arrogance of these demands inspired the Dutch with a resolution to defend themselves to the last extremity. They determined to pierce the dykes, and lay the country under water; a heavy sacrifice, but which would at least secure them till the frosts of winter. They even resolved, if these measures should prove useless, to abandon their homes, and seek in their possessions beyond the seas that civil and religious freedom which was denied to them in Europe. An account was taken of the shipping in the harbours, and it was found that they had the means of transporting 50,000 families to the East Indies.

Determina-
tion of the
Dutch.

¹ Basnage, *Annales des Prov. Unies*, t. ii. p. 246 sqq.; Mignet, t. iv. p. 31 sqq.

Revolution
in Holland.

These events were accompanied with a revolution which proved fatal to the Pensionary and his brother Cornelius. The advance of the French had roused the popular resentment against the De Witts to the highest pitch. They were denounced from the pulpits as the enemies and betrayers of their country; the Pensionary was even suspected by many to be in the pay of France. On the night of the 12th of June he was attacked by four assassins and wounded, but not mortally, though he was obliged for some weeks to keep his bed. Among his assailants were two sons of Van der Graaf, a member of the Council, the younger of whom was captured, condemned, and beheaded on June 29th. This last spark lighted up the train. A cry was raised in the little town of Vere in Zealand, and ran through the other provinces, that the Perpetual Edict must be abolished, and the Prince of Orange appointed Stadholder. Cornelius de Witt, who was confined to his bed by sickness, was compelled by the people to sign the abolition of the Edict. It was abrogated by the States of Holland, July 3rd, and on the 8th of the same month, the States-General recognized William Prince of Orange as Stadholder, Captain-General, and Admiral for life.

Murder of
the De
Witts.

This revolution was soon followed by the murder of the two De Witts. On the 24th of July, Cornelius was arrested on a charge of having plotted against the life of the Prince of Orange. The charge rested on the testimony of one Tichelaar, a barber or surgeon, a man of infamous character, who deposed that Cornelius had attempted to bribe him to murder the Prince. Cornelius was cited before the Court of Holland, of which the father of Van der Graaf was a member, and by order of the judges was put to the rack and condemned to perpetual banishment. The party in power, unable to murder the De Witts judicially, had resolved to sacrifice them to the fury of the populace, and had enticed the Pensionary, by a false message, to share his brother's fate. The States of Holland, indeed, made a show of protecting the De Witts by a guard of cavalry; but this was soon withdrawn, and the infuriated mob broke into the prison, dragged the two brothers into the streets and murdered them. A Gomarist preacher, Simon Simonides, presided, like a priest of Moloch, at these orgies (August 20th). Thus miserably perished John De Witt, who had directed the

counsels of the Dutch Republic during a period of twenty years with honest and single-minded patriotism, if not, in the last eventful crisis, with a wise and successful policy; whilst his brother Cornelius had sustained her honour upon the seas with valour and reputation. Their murder may not be directly imputable to the Prince of Orange; but he at least accepted it, and made himself an accessory after the fact by protecting and rewarding the assassins. The Stadholder proclaimed an amnesty; the principal leader of the riot was made Mayor, or Bailiff, of the Hague; and Tichelaar obtained a place and a yearly pension of 400 guilders, which was paid to him during the life of William.¹

The Dutch entertained a hope that the appointment of the Prince of Orange as Stadholder would disarm the anger of Charles II.; and this feeling was strengthened by the arrival of his two principal ministers, Buckingham and Arlington, at the Hague, early in July. The English ambassadors were received by the people with enthusiasm and shouts of "Long live the King of England and the Prince of Orange!" But their expectations were doomed to disappointment. After an interview with William, Buckingham and Arlington repaired to the camp of Louis, near Utrecht; and on the 16th of July, they signed a new treaty with the French King. The demands of England were as intolerable as before. Whole fleets were to strike to a single man-of-war; England was to receive an indemnity of a million sterling, and a yearly payment of £10,000 for the herring fishery on the British coast; Sluys, with the Isles of Walcheren, Cadsand, Goree and Voorne, were to be made over to England as security for these conditions; and no separate peace was to be made by either Power. The Prince of Orange, whom the allies persisted in protecting in spite of himself, was to have the sovereignty, or at least the hereditary Stadholdership, of the United Netherlands. Nor did France abate a single article of her former demands.² When Buckingham and Arlington again went to the Prince of Orange with these conditions, and urged him to throw himself into the arms of their King, William answered, "My country confides in me, and I will

Demands
of England.

¹ Basnage, *Ann. des Prov. Unies*, t. ii. p. 317; Mignet, *Succ. d'Espagne*, t. iv. p. 71; *Mém. de Gourville* (*Collect. Michaud*, 3^e série, t. v. p. 576); Van Kampen, *Gesch. der Niederlande*, B. ii. S. 246 sq.

² Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 208.

never betray it for any unworthy objects of personal ambition. If I cannot avert its ruin, I can at least defend every ditch, and I will die in the last."

Sea fight off
Solebay.

The confidence of the Prince in his cause was justified. The Republic had already passed the most alarming crisis of its fortunes. At sea, the Dutch, if not absolutely victorious, had maintained a resistance which inspired good hopes for the future. In a great action fought off Solebay, on the coast of Suffolk, May 28th, De Ruyter had engaged the combined English and French fleets a whole day, and the losses on both sides were so equally balanced that neither could claim the victory. The French, indeed, had taken but little part in the action, by the secret orders, it is supposed, of Louis, who was not displeased to let the two Maritime Powers destroy each other's forces. The landing of the English at the Texel had been subsequently hindered by an extraordinary ebb tide of twelve hours, and then by a great storm. On land, the inundations had arrested the progress of the French. On July 26th Louis had taken his departure for St. Germain, leaving Turenne in command of the army, but with instructions to attempt nothing more that year.

Diversion
in favour of
the Dutch.

The successes of the French had at length awakened the Emperor from his lethargy. Leopold entered into a defensive treaty with the Elector of Brandenburg June 23rd, by which each engaged to despatch 12,000 men to the Rhine.¹ Intelligence of this treaty, and the encouragements of the Elector, had contributed to make the Prince of Orange reject the demands of England and France. Leopold, in a treaty signed by his minister l'Isola at the Hague, July 25th, 1672, in spite of his former engagement of neutrality with France, agreed to assist the Republic, on condition of receiving a large subsidy.² But the Emperor was still playing a double game; and though Montecuculi was despatched with 12,000 men to join the Elector of Brandenburg, he received secret orders not to engage the French; and Leopold even assured Louis that he wished him success.³ The advance of the Elector and the Austrians, who formed a junction at Halberstadt, September 12th, was nevertheless favourable to the Dutch by the diversion which it caused. Turenne received

¹ Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 201.

² *Ibid.* p. 208.

³ Puffendorf, *Frid. Wilh.* lib. xi. § 51.

orders to proceed to the Rhine, and arrest the progress of the allies; and he prevented them from forming a junction with the Prince of Orange, who had advanced for that purpose to the neighbourhood of Liège. Montecuculi, in pursuance of his secret orders,¹ declined to fight, and the Elector of Brandenburg was consequently compelled to retreat beyond the Weser, abandoning to the enemy some of his Westphalian dominions. The Elector now made proposals of peace to France, and on June 16th, 1673, a treaty was concluded at Vossem, near Louvain, by which Louis engaged to pay him 800,000 livres, and restored to him all his dominions, including those in the Duchy of Cleves captured from the Dutch, except Wesel, and the forts of Lippe and Rees; which were also to revert to him at the end of the war. The Elector on his side engaged not to assist the Dutch, but reserved to himself the right of taking up arms if war should be declared by the Empire.² Sweden had not fulfilled her engagements to France, but she offered her mediation; which led to the assembly of a Congress at Cologne in the spring of 1673.

Meanwhile the Stadholder, after failing to form a junction with the Austrian and Electoral troops on the Meuse, made a bold but unsuccessful attempt on Charleroi, and then hastened back to the defence of Holland. Marshal Luxembourg had taken advantage of the frosts of winter to invade that country; but the elements again favoured the Dutch; a sudden thaw compelled the French to retreat. The campaign of 1673 presents little of importance except the taking of Maestricht by Louis in person, with the assistance of Vauban, June 30th; and the surrender of Trèves to the same eminent engineer and Rochefort, September 8th. Meanwhile Louis had marched into Alsace, where he occupied the ten imperial cities, and compelled them to renounce the rights guaranteed to them by the Peace of Westphalia.

A great coalition was now organized against France. On August 30th, 1673, two treaties were signed at the Hague by

Campaign
of 1673.

Coalition
against
France.

¹ Montecuculi was so disgusted with the orders sent by Lobkowitz, that he wrote to the court to request that, as the shortest way, he might receive his instructions direct from Paris! Puffendorf, lib. xii. § 51. Montecuculi was soon recalled at his own desire. Lobkowitz was dismissed in October, 1674; after which Leopold became his own prime minister.

² Puffendorf, lib. xi. § 95; Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 234.

the States, the King of Spain, and the Emperor. By the first of these treaties, Spain promised to declare war against France, and the States engaged to make no peace with that Power till she had restored to Spain all that she had seized since the Peace of the Pyrenees; failing which, the States were to cede to Spain Maestricht and the county of Vroonhove. They were likewise to endeavour at a peace with England on equitable terms; and if they did not succeed, Spain engaged to declare war against England. The Dutch were also to recover their lost possessions. By the second treaty, the Emperor was to assemble near Egra a force of 30,000 men, and march them to the Rhine; the States paying a subsidy of 45,000 rix-dollars per month, and providing on their part 20,000 men. The three confederate Powers also concluded in October a treaty with the Duke of Lorraine, by which they bound themselves to place him at the head of 18,000 men, and to restore him to his dominions.¹ From this period the cause of the Dutch Republic began daily to look more promising. The naval war this year was decidedly in her favour. On land, the Stadholder, after taking Naerden, September 12th, effected a junction near Bonn with the Imperialists, who, in spite of all the efforts of Turenne, had succeeded in passing the Rhine near Mainz, and taking Bonn, after a short resistance, November 12th. This was a signal advantage. The States of Cologne and Münster lay at their mercy; they established themselves along the Rhine, and thus secured the free communication of the Imperialists with the Netherlands; whilst Turenne was compelled to fall back on the Sarre. The French were now obliged to evacuate Holland, which was effected in the winter and spring, 1673-74. Of all their conquests they retained only Grave and Maestricht.

The Prince of Orange on his return was received in triumph by the Dutch. Early in February, 1674, he was proclaimed hereditary Stadholder and Captain-General of Holland and Zealand, with succession to his male heirs; an example which was soon followed by Utrecht, Gelderland, and Overysse. These honours were conferred on William in order to smooth the way to a peace with England, which was effected the same month. The war was very unpopular in England.

Peace between Eng-
land and
Holland,
1674.

¹ Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 244 sq.

The King could obtain no grants from the Parliament, whose suspicions had been further excited by the recent marriage of the Duke of York with a princess of Modena, a niece of Mazarin. Louis XIV. had been the chief author of this marriage, and had bestowed a large dowry upon the bride. Charles II. made the best excuses he could to his patron Louis for his defection; but he had, in fact, no alternative, and was compelled to accept the Treaty of Westminster, February 19th, 1674. By this treaty the States engaged to salute the British flag between the limits of Cape Finisterre in Spain and Van Staten in Norway, and to pay 800,000 crowns for the expenses of the war. Conquests were to be restored on both sides, and the disputes that had arisen in the East Indies were to be adjudicated by a Commission.¹ The example of England was soon after followed by the Bishops of Münster and Cologne.

While Louis was thus deserted one by one by his allies, the Empire was rousing itself to vigorous action against him. The immediate occasion of this was an occurrence which took place at Cologne. The harsh proceedings of the French King towards the Alsatian cities, as well as other parts of his conduct, were ascribed to the advice of his pensioner, William von Fürstenberg, who attended the congress of Cologne as plenipotentiary of the Elector. Although the congress rendered that city neutral ground, the Emperor caused Fürstenberg to be arrested by some Austrian troops as he was returning from a visit on the evening of February 4th, 1674, and he was carried off to Wiener-Neustadt. France and Sweden loudly exclaimed against this proceeding as a violation of the rights of nations; whereupon their envoys were directed to leave the town, and the congress was dissolved without any result. This event put an end to any good understanding which still subsisted between the Emperor and the King of France. Leopold complained to the Diet of Ratisbon of the conduct of the French, and though Gravel, the French envoy there, used every endeavour to bring the German States back to their former dependence on France, yet so much was the position of affairs altered by the late occurrences, that the Emperor was able to dismiss Gravel from the Assembly, and in spite of the opposition of the

Leopold at
war with
France.

¹ Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 253.

Elector of Bavaria, several German princes gave in their adhesion to the Emperor and joined the coalition of the Hague. In June, Leopold formally declared war against France, and thus enabled the Elector of Brandenburg to join the league (July 1st), according to his special reservation in the Treaty of Vossem.

The French
ravage the
Palatinate.

Louis, supported by Sweden alone, now found himself opposed to almost all Europe. The campaign of 1674, however, went in favour of the French. Louis in person entered Franche-Comté, and in the months of May and June again reduced that province. It was never afterwards separated from France, and the Jura henceforward formed the French frontier on the east. Meanwhile Turenne was holding the Imperialists in check by a series of brilliant manœuvres on the Rhine. By his victory at Sinzheim, June 16th, he compelled them to retreat beyond the Neckar. He then entered and ravaged the dominions of the Elector Palatine, who had joined the Imperial League; when his troops, enraged at the murder and mutilation of some of their comrades by the peasants, burnt seven-and-twenty towns and villages in the Palatinate.¹ The Elector, who, from his palace at Heidelberg, was a spectator of this calamity, wrote to Turenne upbraiding him with his barbarity and challenging him to single combat; from which Turenne was deterred by the commands of his sovereign. His subsequent campaign in Alsace has been reckoned his masterpiece. By his victory at Enzheim, October 4th, he saved that province from the grasp of the Imperialists; and subsequently, by a combination of the most skilful operations executed in midwinter, and concluded by the battle of Türkheim, January 5th, 1675, he compelled them totally to evacuate it. The Elector of Brandenburg was forced to separate himself from the allies and march to the relief of his own dominions, which, as will be related in the next chapter, had been occupied by the Swedes. Churchill, afterwards the renowned Duke of Marlborough, served in this campaign under Turenne, as

¹ Martin asserts, after Du Buisson, *Vie de Turenne*, p. 364 sq. (ed. Cologne, 1687), that these excesses were committed by the *English* companies in the service of France (*Hist. de France*, t. xiii. p. 447). But Turenne himself, in his answer to the Palatine, ascribes them to *his* soldiers. The memory of that great commander must not, however, be loaded with a crime which he was unable to prevent.

colonel in one of the English regiments in the French service, and learnt some useful lessons in the school of so consummate a master. Meanwhile, in the Netherlands, the war had been carried on between the Stadholder and Condé with nearly balanced success. At the bloody battle of Senef, fought on August 11th, neither commander could claim the victory, and nothing of much importance was done during the remainder of the campaign.

In the spring of 1675 the struggle was again resumed on the Rhine between Turenne and Montecuculi, where both generals displayed all the resources of their skill. But the career of Turenne was brought to a close before he could fight any decisive action. He had made all his arrangements for a battle near the pass of Sassbach, in the Duchy of Baden, and was reconnoitring the enemy's position, when he was killed by a cannon-ball, July 27th.¹ The dejection and despair of the French at the loss of their great commander was uncontrollable. It was followed by their immediate retreat, and Montecuculi was enabled to cross the Rhine and enter Alsace. Condé was now ordered to assume the command in Alsace, as being the only general worthy to succeed Turenne. He contented himself, however, with remaining on the defensive, and succeeded, without fighting a single battle, in holding Montecuculi in check till November, when the Imperialists retired into winter quarters beyond the Rhine. This was the last campaign both of Montecuculi and Condé, who were compelled to retire from service by a more obstinate and irresistible enemy than they had hitherto encountered—the gout.

Death of
Turenne,
1675.

The fifth year of the war, 1676, was more remarkable for its naval engagements than for those on land. After the peace between England and the United Netherlands, the French, despairing of encountering the Dutch upon the seas on anything like equal terms, had withdrawn into their harbours, and contented themselves with remaining on the defensive. They were induced by a revolution in Sicily to alter this policy. The inhabitants of Messina, exasperated by the oppressions of the Spanish Government, had revolted in the summer of 1674, and invoked the aid of France, which was accorded by Louis. The French made great efforts to retain

French and
Dutch in
Sicily.

¹ The shot is said to have been directed by Prince Hermann of Baden, who had recognized Turenne. Basnage, t. ii. p. 616.

so important a position as the Straits of Messina; they defeated all the attempts of the Spaniards to regain possession of that city; and even extended their occupation in its neighbourhood. At length, towards the end of December, 1675, a Dutch fleet under De Ruyter, arrived to the assistance of their allies, the Spaniards, and a desperate but indecisive action took place, January 8th, off the Lipari Isles, between the combined fleets and the French under Duquesne. On the 22nd of April, 1676, another engagement was fought near Catania with the same result, except that the death of the gallant De Ruyter might be considered equivalent to a victory. A cannon-ball carried away the left foot and shattered the right leg of the veteran admiral, as he was giving his orders on the quarter-deck. He died of his wounds a few days after at Syracuse.¹ In a third naval action off Palermo, June 2nd, the French gained a complete victory; they now remained masters of the seas, and the allied fleet was compelled to take refuge at Naples.

Death of
De Ruyter.

Campaigns
of 1676 and
1677.

The campaigns of 1676 and the following year present but little that is remarkable. They were conducted on the part of the French by the Duke of Luxembourg, Marshals Créquy, Schomberg, and D'Estrades, besides Louis XIV. himself, and were, on the whole, in favour of the French. Valenciennes, Cambrai, St. Omer, and Freiburg in the Breisgau were taken. The Stadholder, while hastening to the relief of St. Omer, sustained a complete defeat at the hands of the Duke of Orleans and Luxembourg, April 11th, 1677. By these conquests the Spanish Netherlands were deprived of nearly all their frontier fortresses. Only Mons and Namur, on the land side, and Ostend and Nieuport on the sea, remained to them; the rest of the towns were incapable of defence. These events could not but have a considerable influence on the negotiations at Nimuegen, where a congress had been assembled under the mediation of the English King. Charles was again become the pensioner of France. Unable to procure any money from his Parliament, he listened to the temptations of Ruvigni, the French ambassador; and in February, 1676, signed a secret treaty, by which, as the price of his neutrality, he consented to accept from Louis a yearly subsidy.² This bargain

Charles II.
sells him-
self to
Louis.

¹ Brandt, *De Ruyter*, p. 688 sqq.

² Dalrymple, *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. i. p. 57 and p. 140 sqq.

presented a serious obstacle to the scheme of the Prince of Orange to draw Charles into an offensive alliance against France. Although the Dutch, alarmed by the conquests of the French, were very desirous of peace, the fall of Cambrai, the defeat of the Stadholder, and the surrender of St. Omer had a precisely reverse effect in England, and roused a cry for war which Charles had some difficulty to resist. Spain and the Emperor on one side, France on the other, competed with one another to buy the votes of members of Parliament.¹ The Commons were capricious as well as venal. They pressed the King to declare war against France, yet withheld the means to carry it on. Charles, on his side, got rid of their importunities by repeated adjournments, in consideration of which he obtained from Louis an addition of 200,000*l.* to his pension. Meanwhile the French King was endeavouring to detach the Dutch from their allies, and to effect with them a separate peace; but though the States-General and the Dutch people were inclined to such a course, William was for carrying on the war and adhering to his engagements with the Emperor and Spain; and with this view he resolved to make a closer alliance with England, and, if possible, to draw that Power into the war. He now made proposals for the hand of the Princess Mary, eldest daughter of the Duke of York, which he had declined three years before. His advances were at first received with coldness, but were ultimately accepted, and he was invited into England, though on condition that he should leave the country before the Parliament met. The marriage was arranged at Newmarket and solemnized in November, 1677. The careless Charles let slip the opportunity of compelling the Prince to accede to his views respecting a peace; but in the conferences which ensued the basis of a treaty was agreed upon. France was to remain *in statu quo* with regard to Spain, and she would thus retain possession of Franche-Comté, besides the places which she had conquered in the Spanish Netherlands, with the exception of Ath, Charleroi, Oudenarde, Courtrai, Tournai, Condé, and Valenciennes; which places were to be restored to Spain in order that they might form a barrier between France and the Dutch Republic. The Duke of Lorraine was to be reinstated in his

William of
Orange
marries
Mary.

¹ See Lingard's *Hist. of England*, vol. ix. ch. 5. The price of a patriot seems then to have been from 300*l.* to 500*l.*

dominions, and the Dutch and French were mutually to restore their conquests. Thus Holland was to be saved at the expense of Spain.

Charles
allies him-
self with
Holland.

Charles II. had thus exchanged the character of a mediator for that of an arbiter, and taken upon himself to dictate terms to the monarch whose pay he was receiving. Louis endeavoured to soften these demands, but meanwhile prepared for a winter campaign, and took Ghislain. The pride of Charles was offended by these proceedings, and he resorted to some vigorous steps, which surprised the Prince of Orange as well as Louis. He broke his secret compact with France by summoning the Parliament to meet in January, though he had agreed to adjourn it till April; and he followed up this measure by proposing to his nephew an offensive alliance against France. The Stadholder joyfully accepted so unlooked-for a proposal, and on January 10th, 1678, a treaty was signed at the Hague between England and the States-General, with a view to compel France to a peace nearly on the conditions already mentioned.¹ Louis, in alarm, immediately recalled his ships and troops from Sicily, which were now exposed to the risk of being cut off by the English and Dutch fleets; abandoning without remorse the Messinese, whose rebellion he had encouraged, to the fate they might expect at the hands of their Spanish tyrants. He also suspended Charles's pension, though he endeavoured to bribe the English monarch, but without effect, to abandon the demand for Condé, Valenciennes, and Tournai. Encouraged by the exhortations of his brother and his minister Danby, who were for war, Charles displayed for some time an unwonted firmness. He recalled the English regiments in the service of France, made vigorous preparations for war, and, with the permission of the Spaniards, occupied Ostend with a garrison of 3,000 men. The French King was on his side not idle. In the midst of winter he threatened the whole frontier of the Netherlands, from Luxembourg to Ypres; then, suddenly concentrating his forces, he appeared unexpectedly before Ghent, and compelled that town to surrender (March 11th); thus opening up a road into the Dutch territories. Ypres soon after also surrendered. Louis had tampered with the opposition party in the English Parliament; supplies were

¹ Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 341.

refused, and Charles found himself drifting into a war with France without the means to carry it on. In these circumstances he again threw himself into the arms of Louis, and concluded with that monarch, May 27th, another secret treaty, by which, in consideration of receiving six million livres, he agreed to withdraw his forces from the Continent, except the garrison in Ostend, unless the States-General accepted within two months the *ultimatum* which Louis had recently offered at Nimuegen as the basis of a general peace. The terms were: the satisfaction of Sweden and her ally the Duke of Holstein Gottorp; the release of Prince Fürstenberg, and his restoration to his estates and dignities; the entire re-establishment of the Peace of Westphalia, the Emperor either restoring Philipsburg, which he had taken, or ceding Freiburg; the restitution to Spain of Charleroi, Limburg, Binch, Ath, Oudenarde, Courtrai, Ghent, and St. Ghislain, in order to form the barrier desired by the Dutch; Spain, in her turn, ceding Franche-Comté, Valenciennes, Bouchain, Condé, Cambrai, Aire, St. Omer, Ypres, Castel, and other places in what was afterwards called French Flanders; Maestricht and its dependencies to be restored to the Dutch, who were, however, to make it over to Spain; and lastly, the restoration of the Duchy of Lorraine.¹

A peace was on the point of being concluded on these conditions, when the negotiations were again interrupted, by Louis signifying that he should not restore to Spain the towns in the Netherlands till his ally the King of Sweden had been reinstated in his possessions in Germany which he had lost during the war. This demand produced an immediate reaction in England and Holland. Charles again prepared for war; the English army in Flanders was reinforced, and on the 26th of July a fresh treaty was signed between England and the States, by which they engaged to declare war against France, unless Louis should agree to restore to Spain the towns in question, without any reference to the affairs of Sweden, before the 11th of August, on which day the truce between France and the Republic would expire. Louis was extricated from this embarrassment by the Swedes themselves, who declared they should be satisfied if the States-General engaged no longer to assist their enemies;

Peace of
Nimeguen,
1678.

¹ Mignet, *Succ. d'Espagne*, t. iv. p. 550.

and on the night of August 10th the PEACE OF NIMEGUEN was signed.¹ All that Holland lost in a war which had threatened to annihilate her, were her settlements in Senegal and Guiana, which had been taken by the French. The delay of the French ministers in signing the treaty produced a collision between the Stadholder and the Duke of Luxembourg, by which much blood was needlessly spilt. The Prince of Orange had advanced with his army and his English reinforcements to the relief of Mons, which place had been blockaded by the French since the winter, and was in a state of great distress. On the 14th of August he attacked Luxembourg's army, when a furious battle ensued, which was put an end to only by the night. William protested that he had received no intelligence of the signature of the treaty till the following day.²

Peace
between
Louis and
Leopold,
1679.

Spain acceded to the peace, September 17th, by a treaty signed at Nimeguen, on the conditions, with little variation, proposed by Louis in the *ultimatum* already specified.³ The Cabinet of Madrid wished to delay the ratification till the Emperor should also have made his peace; but were compelled by the threats and movements of Louis to ratify the treaty, December 15th. Louis was now in a condition to dictate to the Emperor and his allies almost what terms he pleased, especially as the campaign of 1678 had been unfavourable to the Austrian arms. On the 5th of February, 1679, a treaty was signed between France and the Emperor on the basis of that of Münster. The Duke of Lorraine, now Charles V., was restored to his dominions, but on the most onerous conditions. He was obliged to exchange Nanci and Longwi against Toul, and Louis reserved four military roads through his dominions. The Duke of Lorraine protested against the articles, and rather than accept them became a voluntary exile. The Emperor consented that the King of France should compel the princes of North Germany to make satisfaction to Sweden, and should retain for that

¹ The treaty is in Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 350. It was in French, which language was now almost generally substituted for Latin in diplomatic transactions. See Gardin, *Hist. des Traités*, t. ii.

² On this affair see Basnage, t. ii. p. 941; Temple's *Memoirs* (*Works*, vol. ii. p. 456); *Mémoires de Gourville* (*Coll. Michaud*, 3^e sér. t. v. p. 575).

³ Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 365.

purpose a chain of posts in the Rhenish provinces to assure the march of his armies. But to the pacification of Northern Europe we shall return in the next chapter.

The Peace of Nimeguen is the culminating point of Louis XIV.'s glory. From that time Louis' ambition led him to numerous acts of aggression which brought against him the united forces of Europe in the War of the League of Augsburg and in the Spanish Succession War.

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